

T H E

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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 118.

In the Debate upon his Majesty's Message, which was begun in my last, the next Speech I shall give you was made by L. *Æmilius Paullus*, the Purport of which was as follows, viz.

My Lords,

IT is no new Thing to see the Demands and the Projects of Ministers ushered into this House under the Name of our Sovereign: When any extraordinary Demand is to be made, or when any dangerous Powers are to be asked for by our Ministers, it has always been their Custom, to screen themselves under the sacred Name of Majesty; and when such Demands are opposed by those who have a true Regard for their Sovereign, but no very great Regard, perhaps, for his Ministers, the Advocates for those Demands, are sure to follow the Example that has been set them, by introducing his Majesty's Name into every Part of the Debate. Our Ministers ask a Power

to put the Nation to what Expence they please; and as an Argument for our complying with this Demand, we are told, his Majesty never put the Nation to any unnecessary Expence: Our Ministers ask A such Powers as will, of course, if they are frequently granted, render Parliaments of no Use to the People, whatever they may be to an Administration; and to induce us to render ourselves useless, we are told, that this modest Demand proceeds from the great Regard his Majesty has for the Authority of Parliament.

This, my Lords, is a Way of arguing, that must lay your Lordships under great Difficulties, and is, I am sure, no Sign of any true Regard for the King, whose Name ought never to be introduced into any Debate; therefore I wish that all such Messages were sent hither in the Name of those that advise them, whom I shall always look on as the Persons that really send them. It is upon me particularly a great Hardship, to see any Thing sent hither in his Majesty's Name which

I do not approve of; for as the King is not only my Sovereign, but my Master, it is with the utmost Reluctance I can say any Thing against a Proposition that appears in his Name. But, my Lords, I know his Majesty so well, I am so well assured of the Regard he has for our Constitution, that I cannot look upon this unconstitutional Message as coming from him. I must consider it as a Message from some of his Ministers, and I shall treat it accordingly.

It is a Message, my Lords, of a most dangerous Nature; for if such Messages should be frequently sent, and frequently complied with, it will end in a total Overthrow of our Constitution. The Business of Parliament is to prevent its being possible to run the Nation into any needless Expence; for after a needless Expence is incurred, we may punish the Advisers, but there is no recalling the Expence. The guilty Head of a wicked or weak Minister is but a poor Atonement to the Nation; and his Fortune, however immense, may prove but a very insufficient Recompence for the Damage the Nation may suffer, and the Charge it may be put to, by one ridiculous or imprudent Measure. For this Reason the Parliament ought to examine and judge of the Services, before they think of granting Funds for supplying those Services; and it is for this Reason that particular Estimates of the respective Services necessary for the ensuing Year, are always laid before Parliament. From those Estimates we can judge, not only of the Services intended, but also of the Sums necessary for supplying those Services; and if we disapprove of the Services we may, and ought to refuse granting any Funds for their Supply; or if we think the Sums demanded too large, we may, and ought to grant no more

than what shall appear to be absolutely necessary for the Supply of those Services we approve of. But by granting such a Vote of Credit and Confidence as is demanded by this Message, we can neither judge A of the Measures intended, nor of the Sums necessary for the Execution of those Measures; whereby we render ourselves quite useless, as to that of being able to prevent the Nation's being put to any unnecessary Expence: Therefore, if such a B Vote as this now demanded, should once come to be an usual methodical Conclusion to each Session of Parliament, I shall then begin to think Parliaments of no Use to, I shall think them a most unnecessary Burden upon the People.

We are told, my Lords, that an Account shall be laid before next Session of Parliament, of all the extraordinary Expences the Nation may be put to, by Virtue of the Credit and Confidence now demanded. What signifies this to the Nation? Will this make good the Expence that may be unnecessarily incurred? Will this atone for the Damage the Nation may sustain by a rash or ridiculous Project? Such an After-account can, in my Opinion, never be of the least Signification. I shall never think, that a Parliament that will grant such a Credit and Confidence, will ever find Fault with any Expence the Nation may be put to in Pursuance of that Credit and Confidence, or that they will find Fault with any F Article in the Account. In such a Parliament, I shall always expect to see panegyrical Votes of Approbation passed in every following Session, with regard to those Measures that were undertaken, and those Expences that were incurred, in Pursuance of a Vote of unlimited Credit and Confidence passed in the preceding. And if a new Parliament should intervene, there is nothing

thing can be of more Service to a Minister, for enabling him to get a House of Commons to his Mind, than his being appointed the sole and whole Executor of the expiring Parliament. Therefore, if a Check be not put to the sending of such Messages as this now under our Consideration, I shall soon expect to see every Session of Parliament open with a general Approbation of all the Minister has done in Time past, and conclude with a general Power to do whatever he pleases in Time to come.

My Lords, let us but examine the Arguments made use of upon this Occasion, and we shall find, that most of them may, with equal Weight, be made use of at the End of every Session. We are told, that during the Recess of Parliament, his Majesty has a Sort of dictatorial Power, which would enable him to do all that is desired by this Message, and that therefore our Constitution can never be in any Danger, by our giving him an Authority to do what he might do without any such previous Authority. Is not this, my Lords, an Argument that may be made use of with equal Weight at the End of every Session? Can we suppose a Time when it may be positively affirmed, that no sudden Emergency can arise during the Recess? We can now, or at least we may in a few Days, as certainly foresee what will happen during the Recess, as we can ever do at the End of any Session of Parliament. Therefore, the Timing of this Message deserves our particular Notice. It seems calculated for establishing it as a Custom, that at the End of every Session, our Parliament ought to invest our Ministers with an absolute Power, and an unlimited Credit. I shall grant, that in Case of a very sudden and very imminent Danger, the Crown has

will say, that in such a Case, the Parliament ought to be assembled as soon as possible. I will say, that no good Man, no wise Minister would advise the Crown to make use of that Power for one Week longer than Necessity required; so that the Exercise of it can never, by our Constitution, last for above five or six Weeks; whereas, by granting such a parliamentary Authority as is now demanded, we give our Ministers an Authority, or at least a Pretence, for exercising that dictatorial Power for seven or eight Months. In the former Case, the Exercise of it can never be of any dangerous Consequence, because our People would not submit to it, if exercised without an apparent Necessity, or without summoning the Parliament to assemble as soon as possible; and in so short a Time no dangerous Use can be made of it. But when the Exercise of this Power is founded upon a previous Authority from Parliament, the People will submit to it without Enquiry; and, in so long a Time, such an Use may be made of it, as may render it perpetual; for our Ministers, in such a Case, would never allow the Parliament to assemble, unless they were sure of having such a Parliament as would begin the Session by approving of the Use they had made of their Power, and conclude the Session with giving them a Renewal of their Term.

If we are to have Peace, if there is the least Probability that Spain will comply, even with that nominal Satisfaction we have submitted to accept of, there can be no Reason for our complying with this Message, there could be no Reason for sending it, beside that I have mentioned. But, my Lords, I am far from thinking that we shall have Peace. I believe we must at last go to War. The Spaniards will do nothing, as long as they have such

a contemptible Opinion of us. We must beat them into a better, I hope a righter Opinion of us, before we can expect they will give us either Satisfaction or Security. If this be the Case, why do not our Ministers tell us so? The King, I know, is for laying every Thing before us. The Ministers ought: It is their Interest to do so. It is the Interest, at least of the Majority of them, to lay every Thing fairly and openly before Parliament. We could then provide for War in a regular parliamentary Method. But this, we are told, would be divulging the Secrets of the Government: It would be declaring War against *Spain*, before we have provided for carrying it on. What! are we then to steal a War upon the *Spaniards*? Are we to steal a Satisfaction from that contemptible, tho' insolent Nation?

My Lords, we have no Occasion to do so; and I am sure we ought not to make an Incroachment upon our Constitution for such a needless, such an insignificant Purpose. If D the War be prosecuted in a proper and vigorous Manner, we now have, or may have, before they can prepare for their Defence, a sufficient Force both at Land and Sea; a Force that may fully enable us, not only to defend ourselves, but to revenge, in the most ample Manner, the Insults they have put upon the Nation, and the Depredations they have committed upon our Merchants. This, I say, we have a Power to do, but God knows what may be done, if our warlike Measures be conducted with the same Sort of Spirit, that our peaceable Measures have been for so many Years past. I have, my Lords, lived a long While in the World; I have lived so long as to wonder at nothing.—I beg Pardon, there is still one Thing I should G wonder at: I should wonder, if those who have brought us into such a deplorable and contemptible State,

should ever be able to bring us out of it, or to recover either our Character or their own.

For God Sake, my Lords, what are we afraid of? Are we afraid of *Spain*? That cannot be. Are we afraid lest *Spain* should be supported by *France*? What then? Must we do nothing but what *France* gives us Leave to do? Must we make a Sacrifice of our Trade, our Navigation, our Honour, because *France* commands it, and threatens us with B Correction if we do not obey. My Lords, we had better submit to become a Province to *France*, because they would then think themselves obliged to defend us. But this I shall never submit to, I shall chuse to die with my Sword in my Hand, C rather than meanly live to see my Country made a *French* Province; and if this should ever come to be the Question, I hope I should still find in this Kingdom many Companions; I am sure every *true Briton* would share the same Fate with me. With such Men, to live or not to live, can never be the Question of most Importance. To live freely, or die bravely, has been the Resolution of our Ancestors in all Ages past; I hope it is the Resolution of the present Generation, I E hope it will be the Resolution of our Posterity in all Ages to come.

With regard to *Spain*, my Lords, if they do not give us immediate Satisfaction, we are under an absolute Necessity of declaring War, let who will take their Part. The F principal Affair in Dispute between them and us, is of such a Nature, that even *France* will not, I believe, take their Part; and I believe it, because it is neither her Interest to do so, nor is she prepared for it. It is, not the Interest of *France* to establish those Claims which the *Spaniards* have lately set up against us; because they may one Day be made use of against *France* as well as against

against us. And suppose the *French* should mistake their Interest, which they seldom do, what can they do against us? They can make use of nothing but a naval Force against us, which they are at present unprovided with; and in case of an open War, we may take Care they never shall. The *French* Court may encourage the Claims of *Spain*, whilst they are made to operate only against this Nation; because every Thing that is a Discouragement to our Trade, is an Encouragement to that of *France*. They may even bully and hector, in order to make us submit as patiently to the Claims of *Spain* for twenty Years to come, as we have done for twenty Years past; because, by such a Submission, the Trade of this Kingdom would be very much lessened, and their Trade as much advanced; but if we once begin to reassume our antient Character, if we once resolve to vindicate the Rights of our Country, notwithstanding the unfortunate Situation the Affairs of *Europe* are by some late Measures reduced to, yet, I believe, *France* will be extremely cautious of engaging in a War, for supporting *Spain* in Claims which all the World must see to be unjust. Against this Nation, their numerous Land Armies signify nothing, without a superior naval Force, and that, they know, they neither have, nor could provide themselves with in Time of War. The certain Consequence of a War with this Nation, would be a full Stop to their Trade, and if well conducted on our Part, it might be attended with the Ruin of most of their Settlements in the *East* and *West Indies*; which is a Risk we can hardly suppose the *French* will run, for the sake of supporting *Spain*, in Claims that may hereafter be made to operate against themselves. Besides this Danger, whatever our own Ministers may think, the *French* Mi-

nisters know, that this Nation has many natural and powerful Allies upon the Continent, and they likewise know, that vigorous Resolutions, vigorously and wisely executed, would reconcile to us those Allies whom our late Conduct has estranged from us. From all which, my Lords, I must be of Opinion, that the Danger of *France*'s engaging in the War, is not near so hideous as the dastardly Imaginations of some People may represent. I am persuaded, they will not venture to ingage, unless they foresee, that the same Spirit, which has rendered our peaceable Measures ineffectual, may probably have such an Influence, as to render most of our warlike Measures abortive.

But, my Lords, if we do go to War, I hope the natural Spirit of this Nation will revive, I hope it will begin to exert itself; and if it does, I am sure it will get the better of every Thing that can, of every Man that dare oppose it. I must therefore think we have nothing to apprehend, for this Year at least, from *France*; and against *Spain* alone, we have no Occasion to make a Secret of our Designs. We have now a Fleet at Sea, superior to any they can fit out against us: We have a Number of Troops to put on board, sufficient for attacking them in that Part, where alone we ought to attack them. What then should hinder us from declaring War, the Moment we find they despise us so much as to disregard every Engagement they make with us? Why should we make an Incroachment upon our Constitution for the sake of concealing that Resentment, which, the sooner it is manifested, the more it will tend to our Honour? In less than a Fortnight the Chance of Peace or War will be determined. If the Court of *Spain* does not, in that Time, comply with what they have

have so solemnly promised, it will be proper for his Majesty to come to his Parliament, and declare from the Throne, that we must provide for War. The sending of such a Message as this, at such a Time, seems therefore to have been calculated by our Ministers, for nothing else but to render the sending of such Messages familiar to the People, and the complying with them habitual to the Parliament.

Our not complying with the last Part of this Message, can be attended with no bad Consequence: We may comply with, and approve of the first, without taking Notice of the last: We ought to comply with the first, because it is reasonable, and because we may do so without any Breach of our Constitution. It is a certain limited Demand, and such a Demand as ought to be provided for by Parliament. Therefore I shall readily agree to the Address of Thanks proposed, so far as it relates to the first Part of this Message; but that Address ought, I think, to be accompanied with another of a very different Nature. However, as this is not the Question now before us, I shall wave saying any Thing upon it, till I see the Fate of the present Question.

The last Speech I shall give you upon this Subject, was that made by L. Piso, who spoke to this Effect.

My Lords,

AS the first Part of this Message bears no Resemblance nor Relation to the last, and as most Lords who have spoke upon the present Question seem to approve of it, so far as it relates to the first Part of the Message now before us, I shall give your Lordships no Trouble upon that Head. But as to what is demanded by the last Part of this Message, your Lordships may call it

1

a Vote of Credit, or a Vote of Confidence, or both, if you will: Let the Demand be what it will, our complying with it will, in my Opinion, be placing a much greater Confidence in, and giving a larger Credit to our present Ministers, than any Ministers ought, by our Constitution, to be trusted with. I shall never be for giving to any Ministers an unlimited Power to raise what Number of Troops, and what Sums of Money, they may think necessary; and upon this Occasion I am the more against it, because of its being asked at such a critical Conjuncture. We may, perhaps, be under some Uncertainty at present: There may, perhaps, be at present a Probability, that we shall soon be obliged to declare War against Spain; but in a few Days that Uncertainty will be at an End, and that which some are now pleased to call a Probability only, will, in my Opinion, within a Fortnight, become a Certainty; for if the 95,000*l.* be paid on the 24th of this Month, we may look upon it as an Earnest of Peace; we may from thence conclude, that the Spaniards are at last resolved to do us Justice; in which Case we can have no Occasion for raising more Troops, or larger Sums of Money, than have been already agreed to by Parliament, in a regular parliamentary Method. On the other hand, if this Sum of Money be not paid upon the Day appointed, I hope we shall at last have done with Negotiation: I hope no Man will imagine, we are to purchase another ineffectual and collusive Convention, at a new Expence of 4 or 500,000*l.* This Session is, 'tis true, drawing towards a Conclusion; but there is no Necessity for putting an End to it before the 24th of this Month; and if the Parliament be then sitting, and the Money not paid by Spain, what should hinder us from providing for War, in that Method which

which is most agreeable to our Constitution?

This Message therefore, my Lords, seems to me, to be designed for nothing but that of establishing the Custom of concluding each Session of Parliament with a Vote of Credit and Confidence, without the least Necessity or Occasion; and this I cannot agree to, because I think it will be of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution. During the Recess of Parliament, the Crown may have, by our Constitution, a Sort of dictatorial Power; but that Power will become much more dangerous when founded upon the previous Authority of Parliament. Our People have a Sort of implicit Faith in their Parliaments, and will always be less jealous of the Exercise of any extraordinary Power, when it is founded upon the Authority of Parliament, than when it is founded upon an emergent Necessity only. The dictatorial Power was upon many Occasions of great Service to the *Romans*, and whilst it was kept within its antient Bounds, it was never attended with any Inconvenience or Danger. It was originally limited to the Term of six Months at farthest, and was generally resigned before that Term expired; but the second Man to whom it was granted for a longer Term, put an End to the Liberties of that Republick.

This shews, my Lords, how dangerous it is, in a free State, to depart in the least from any of those Regulations, that were established by our Ancestors, for limiting the Power of our Ministers, which is always what is really meant, when we talk of the Power or Prerogative of the Crown. Under those Regulations we have lived happy, we have lived free, for many Ages; but no one can tell what Consequences the least Departure may be attended with. It is allowed, that

no Vote of Credit was ever granted before the Revolution, therefore every such Vote must be a Departure from our antient Constitution, and consequently must be dangerous; and every one will allow, A that we ought not in Prudence to expose ourselves to any Danger, without an apparent Necessity. If the Crown has, during the Recess of Parliament, a Sort of dictatorial Power, may it not be now as freely exercised, as it was before the Revolution? May it not in Time to come be as sufficient for protecting us against sudden and unforeseen Dangers, as it has been for so many Ages past? We are told, that the Method of Appropriation, introduced since the Revolution, makes this impossible. My Lords, let us but consider the State our publick Revenues were in before the Revolution, and we shall find there is nothing in this Argument. Before the Restoration the Crown had no established Revenue, but what was scarcely sufficient for supporting what we now call the Civil List; and they had seldom any Credit to borrow Money from private Hands, even upon the most pressing Emergency. After the Restoration, indeed, we became a little more generous: A large publick Revenue was settled upon the Crown; but that Revenue was appropriated as much as it is now, tho' not in so express Terms. A Part of it was allotted for supporting the Civil List, another Part for paying the few Guards and Garisons, that were then kept up, and a third Part for supporting the Navy. If any of these Services had been neglected, and the Money converted by our Ministers to other Uses, I believe the Parliament would have then been more ready to have inquired into, and punished such Misapplication, than they have ever appeared to be since that Time; and the Crown had,

had, after the Restoration, as well as before, but very little Credit for borrowing Money from private Hands. During the Recess of Parliament, the Crown had no Resource against sudden Emergencies, but that of making use of the little Credit it had for borrowing Money from private Hands, or that of leaving the Pensions and Salaries of Courtiers unpaid, and converting that Money to the Service of the Nation. This made it always necessary for the Crown to call a Parliament as soon as possible, and the Parliament replaced what had been laid out for the publick Service, if they approved of it, or they put a Stop to the Expence, if they disapproved of the Service.

Now, my Lords, let us consider our publick Revenue, as it stands at present, by which I mean the whole Money raised yearly upon the People by the annual or perpetual Grants of Parliament. It is now above three Times as much as it ever was before the Revolution, and every Shilling of it passes now thro' the Fingers of our Ministers, as well as it did then. One Part of it is allotted for the Support of the Civil List, another Part of it for paying our Armies and Garisons abroad and at home, a third Part of it for paying our Seamen, and supporting our Navy, a fourth for paying the Interest growing due yearly to our publick Creditors, and a fifth for paying off yearly so much of the Principal, when we can keep our Ministers from laying hold of it for warlike Preparations in peaceable Times. These, my Lords, are the Uses it is designed for, and to these it is appropriated; but in case of a sudden Emergency, during the Recess of Parliament, what should hinder our Ministers from leaving the Pensions and Salaries of Courtiers unpaid for a few Months, and applying that Money to the Service

of the Nation? I believe the Parliament would be as ready to supply the Deficiency thereby occasioned in the Civil List, as ever they were to supply any pretended Deficiency in that Revenue: I am sure they would have more Reason; and no Man in the Kingdom could find fault with our Ministers, for advising the Crown to apply to the Safety of the Nation, in a Case of Necessity, that which was particularly appropriated to the Support of the Crown. But if this should not be sufficient, what should hinder our Ministers from contracting a small Debt for the immediate Safety of the Nation? For that they may and do contract Debts without any previous Authority from Parliament, the great Navy Debt lately paid off, the great Navy Debt still remaining due, and the many Grants that have been made for making good Deficiencies in the Civil List, are sufficient Testimonies. Therefore, as the Pensions and Salaries paid out of the Civil List now amount to a much larger Sum, than they ever amounted to before the Revolution, and as the Crown has now much more Credit, both for contracting and running in Debt, than it ever had before that Time, I must conclude, that a Vote of Credit is now less necessary than it ever was, or could be, at any Time before the Revolution.

Thus, my Lords, it must appear, that such a Vote of Credit and Confidence, as is now desired, is not only dangerous, but unnecessary; and no Experience, no Precedent can warrant our running ourselves into an unnecessary Danger. We are not in this House, nor any where else, to say, that his Majesty has ever put the Nation to an unnecessary Expence: It is, in my Opinion, a Failure in the Respect due to our Sovereign, to bring his Name into any such Question. But we may

may make a little more free with his Ministers; and that they have, upon some Occasions, put the Nation to an unnecessary Expence, has been said in this House, and is now said in every Corner of the Kingdom; nor will it be said, I believe, by many Persons in the Kingdom, that they have regularly and strictly accounted for every Shilling of the many Millions that have passed thro' their Hands, for these twenty Years past. Therefore, if we judge from Experience, we can have no great Reason for giving them a Power to run the Nation as much in Debt as they please. Such a Power must always be of the most dangerous Nature; because the more they run the Nation in Debt, the more they may depend upon having that Power renewed, the more secure will they be against being called to a strict Account. Like the Spanish Governor, who, for his many Oppressions and Extortions, was recalled from his Command in America, their Security against Punishment will depend upon their having been guilty of every Crime, that is laid to their Charge.

But suppose, my Lords, there were no Danger in our complying with every Part of this Message, and suppose there were a greater Necessity for it than there seems to be at present; yet, when I consider to whom we are to give the extraordinary Powers asked for, I cannot agree to it. I shall never agree to the Nation's giving an unlimited Credit to Ministers, who, with me, never had any Credit; nor can I give my Consent to the Nation's putting so much Confidence in a Ministry, in which I never could put any Confidence. My Lords, we have granted them such Powers as this before now: We have never refused them any Thing; and yet they have never so much as once deviated into what, I think, may

be called right. But on the contrary, they have, in my Opinion, prostituted the Honour, sunk the Reputation, squandered the Wealth, and almost ruined the Trade of this Nation. To me, my Lords, they seem to have been playing, for almost these twenty Years, at a Sort of Game of Hazard for Peace or War, and at last, by a lucky Nick, out started a Thing they call a Convention, which is neither one nor the other; but is to be made either the one or the other, they cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them some extraordinary and unusual Powers, for enabling them to continue their Game. What their future Success may be, I shall not now pretend to divine; but, I am sure, I shall never be for giving unlimited Credit to such awkward Gamesters.

As for that of empowering his Majesty to augment his Forces: In case of a War, my Lords, he has no Occasion for such a Power: He may augment his Forces both by Sea and Land, without any such Power; and if there is to be no War, I am sure, he ought not to augment them, and much less ought we to give our Consent. Nay, I do not think we can give our Consent in the Method proposed. The Consent of Parliament ought always to be understood to be by a Law regularly passed, and agreed to by the three several Branches of our Legislature. It is upon this the Security of our Constitution depends, because it prevents Surprise. Both Houses of Parliament may be surprized into a Vote of the most dangerous Nature, by our Ministers taking Advantage of an Opportunity when there are few Members in Town, but such as they order to attend. Precedents, my Lords, are of an improving Nature: If it should once be received as a Maxim, that the Parliament may, by a Vote, consent to an Augmentation of our Army in

Time of Peace, that Maxim may at last be extended to the altering, repealing, or making any Law the Crown may, by a Message, please to desire; therefore, I cannot agree to what a noble Lord has been pleased to say in this Debate, That the Consent of Parliament may be signified by a Vote or Resolution, in Pursuance of a Message from his Majesty, as well as by the Preamble of a Bill. I am far from contending with that noble Lord in Law-Learning, or Distinctions, but notwithstanding what he has said, I must look upon the present Motion, if it be agreed to, as a Repeal of the Mutiny Bill. I must suppose, that by the Word, *Whole*, in the Preamble of that Bill, we did not mean *a Half*, or any Number of *Parts*: I must suppose, we thereby meant to limit the Number of Troops to 17704 Men; and as every Clause in a Bill must relate to the Preamble, therefore, when there is a general Limitation in the Preamble of a Bill, that Limitation, without being repeated, must run through the Whole, and must be supposed to be a Limitation upon every Clause; for which Reason, I must be of Opinion, that no Clause in the Mutiny Bill we have already passed, can relate to, or comprehend any Number of Troops above that which is mentioned in the Preamble. Nay, I do not know, but that the raising and keeping up a greater Number of Men, may render the whole Bill ineffectual, by making it impossible to determine who are within, or who are without the enacting Clauses of that Bill.

In my Opinion, my Lords, it is a most dangerous Doctrine, to pretend, that when a Law is passed for keeping a certain limited Number of Troops in Order, it must relate to, and comprehend all the Troops which our Ministers may think fit to raise and keep up during the

Continuance of that Law; because, in such a Case, it may be made to serve for obliging our Army to subdue, instead of defending their Country: And if it does not comprehend all the Troops which our Ministers may think fit to raise and keep up, we must allow, that it cannot be made to do so by a Vote of either, or both Houses of Parliament, unless we allow, that an Act of Parliament can be altered or amended by a Vote; and if it can be altered or amended, we must allow, that it may be repealed by the same Method. Thus, by agreeing to this Message, we must establish a most dangerous, and, I think, a false Doctrine, of the one Side or the other.

It signifies nothing, my Lords, to say, that by our complying with this Message, no Man is to be compelled to enter into his Majesty's Land-Service: We know how ready young Gentlemen are to accept of Commissions in the Army, and a great Number of new Officers will always get a great Number of Men to list voluntarily into the Service. When Commissions are granted, and Orders for new Levies issued, we are not to suppose, that the Officers, when they accept their Commissions, will be told, that they are to be employed in subduing the Liberties of their Country; nor are we to suppose, that the Men, when they are prevailed on to list, will be told, that they are to fight against their Country. Our warlike Preparations will always, in such a Case, be said to be intended against some neighbouring Nation that has insulted and injured us, though our Ministers be secretly resolved to submit to every Indignity that can be put upon the Nation by neighbouring Powers, rather than be interrupted, by a foreign War, in the Hostilities they are carrying on against the Constitution and Liberties

of their Country. By such a Pretence, my Lords, many Gentlemen may be induced to accept of Commissions, many private Men may be induced to list as Soldiers, with the honest and brave View of serving their Country against its foreign Enemies; but after they have once entered into the Service, they may, by our Mutiny Bill, thus interpreted, be compelled to serve against their Country, by assisting its domestick and most dangerous Enemies; for they cannot then leave the Service, when they have a Mind, nor can they safely refuse to obey any Order they receive from their commanding Officer; because the Court Martial is to determine, whether the Order be lawful, or not; and a Court Martial, chosen by a Minister, will probably determine every Command to be lawful, that proceeds from his Authority, secret or revealed.

Having now shewn, my Lords, that it is dangerous, unnecessary, and inconsistent with the Bill already passed into a Law, to comply with this Message, I need not, I think, expatiate upon the Consequences of our not complying with the latter Part of it; for let those Consequences be as dangerous as they will, I hope I have made it appear, that it ought not to be complied with. But the Consequences of our not complying with it, are so far from being dangerous, that, I think, it will be attended with great Advantages. *Spain*, I am convinced, has no Hopes from a War, if on our Side it be wisely and vigorously prosecuted. Their only Hopes, I believe, are founded upon the Continuance of our present Administration. They have by Experience found, that our present Ministers may be amused, and they hope to amuse them with Negotiations for some Years longer; or if they cannot amuse them with peace-

able Negotiations, they hope, that our warlike Measures will be carried on in the same languid and ill-judged Manner, our peaceful Measures have been; in which Case they may, like the Terrier with the Fox, by mere Teasing, at last force us to accept of unequal and dishonourable Terms. We can no Way put an End to these Hopes so effectually, as by shewing, that our Parliament is not under the absolute Direction of our Administration. If the *Spaniards* see, as they must see by our refusing to comply with this Message, that the Parliament has seriously taken the State of the Nation into Consideration, and that we have resolved to be what we really are, his Majesty's chief and supreme Council, their flattering Hopes will all vanish, and then they will of course comply with our just Demands. The 95,000*l.* will be paid upon the Day appointed, and all other Disputes will soon be settled to the Honour and Advantage of this Nation; so that if the 95,000*l.* should not be paid, or if a War should ensue, I shall impute it to our complying with the Message now before us.

I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it said, that our refusing to comply with this Message, would give the Court of *Spain*, or any other Court in *Europe*, Cause to imagine, that there would be a Breach between his Majesty and his Parliament. Can we suppose that Court, or any Court, so ignorant of our Constitution, as not to distinguish between his Majesty and his Ministers? Can we suppose them so ignorant of his Majesty's Regard for our Constitution, as to imagine, that he would espouse the Cause of his Ministers against his Parliament? God forbid! that any of his illustrious Family ever should, I am sure he never will; therefore, all the Court of *Spain* could expect from such

such a parliamentary Contumacy as I am now pleading for, is, that it would produce a Change of Ministers; and from such a Change, I am convinced, they can expect no Advantage. If they saw but the least Reason to suspect it, I am persuaded, they would be glad to comply, not only with what they have promised, but with every Thing we could in Justice demand. If an honourable Peace, therefore, be a desirable Thing, as it surely is, I must think our refusing to comply with this Message, the most ready Way to obtain it; and for this Reason, among many others, I shall give my Negative to the Question.

I shall now give you the Substance of two Speeches that were made in our Club, upon Occasion of an Act passed last Session of Parliament, intituled, An Act for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars of the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of any of his Majesty's Colonies in America, from the said Colonies, directly to foreign Parts, in Ships built in Great Britain, and navigated according to Law. As this Act made a considerable Alteration in our Sugar Trade, it occasioned a Dispute in our Club, between two Gentlemen who are both thoroughly acquainted with the Nature of Trade in general, as well as with every particular Branch of the British Trade, and who, for the most Part, are of the same Opinion, tho' they happened to differ upon this Occasion.

The first Speech was made against the Bill by L. Aemilius Mamercinus, and was to this Effect, viz.

I AM against the Bill now under our Consideration, because, I think, it will be a Prejudice to this Kingdom in general, by turning our Trade into a new Channel, and such a Channel as will, in my Opinion, make it run chiefly into the Hands of Foreigners.

We have, by long Experience, found the great Benefit of the several Laws which, by this Bill, are to be in Part repealed, and that Benefit we should not, I think, in any Part give up, without a very evident Necessity for so doing. The great Number of Ships and Seamen that at present belong to this Island, and are daily resorting to, or departing from some of our own Ports, is in a great Measure owing to the Acts of the 12th and 15th of K. Charles II. which by this Bill are to be in Part repealed. By that of the 12th, and another of the 22d and 23d of the same King, every Ship that shall load in any of our Plantations, Sugars, Tobacco, Cotton-Wool, Indigo, Ginger, Fustick, or other dying Wood, (which are therefore called enumerated Goods, and to which several other Sorts of Goods have been since added) of the Growth of any of our Plantations in America, Asia, or Africa, is obliged to give Bond with one Security, under a very high Penalty, to carry those Goods to some Port of Great Britain, or to some Port in our Plantations; and by that of the 15th, it is enacted, that no Commodity of the Growth or Manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into any of our Plantations, but what shall have been shipped in Great Britain, and in British Shipping, whereof the Master and three fourths of the Mariners are British Subjects.

By these Regulations, Sir, our Plantations have been of much greater Service to the Trade and Navigation of this Island, than they could otherwise have been. With regard to our Trade, as most of these Commodities, especially Sugars, require some Sort of Manufacture, before they are fit for Use, that Manufacture has hitherto been carried on entirely by our People here at home, which has, and does now support many of the Inhabitants of this Island; and as the Ships must all be victualled and refitted in this Island, it not only consumes, or procures a Vent for a great many of our native or imported Materials that are necessary for that Purpose, but also employs, and gives Bread to Multitudes of useful Subjects here at home. To which I must add, that as most of the Imports and Exports to and from our Plantations, must pass through this Island, their Passage employs many Factors and Agents here at home, and the Commissions payable upon that Passage, bring large Sums of Money in to this Nation yearly. Then, with regard to our Navigation, as by these Regulations it is made necessary for almost every Ship employed in our Plantation Trade, to be often in some of the Ports of Great Britain, we are thereby furnished with a large and constant Supply of Seamen, which adds greatly to our Naval Power, and contributes not a little to that Tranquillity and Security, which this Nation has enjoyed ever since those Regulations took Place.

In my Opinion therefore, Sir, it would be Madness in us to give up any of the Advantages we enjoy by Means of these Regulations, without an apparent Necessity; and that we are, by this Bill, to give up several of them without any apparent Necessity, is what I shall now endeavour to shew. As the Sugar Trade is the only Branch now in Question, I shall confine myself to that Trade only, but I must, by the Way, observe, that we have already given Leave to export Rice from *Carolina* and *Georgia*, directly to foreign Parts; we are now desired to give the same Liberty with respect to Sugars, and as the same Reasons which are now made use of in favour of Sugar, may hereafter, I think, with equal Weight, be made use of in favour of every one of the enumerated Commodities of our Plantations, I make no question but that upon the Precedent we are now to make, and the Precedent we have already made, a free Trade will in a few Years be opened between our Plantations and every Country in *Europe*; which will of course render them more beneficial to Foreigners than to their Mother Country. But that this Danger may appear in its proper Light, I shall just mention the several Advantages we must lose by allowing Sugars to be exported to foreign Countries directly from our Plantations. As the Law now stands, their Sugars must be all landed in *Great Britain*, and as soon as they are landed, the Ship is generally put into some of our Docks to refit, the Seamen are paid their Wages and discharged, and the Freight is divided among the Owners, who are generally Subjects residing here in *Great Britain*. By this Means our People here at home have the Advantage of refitting the Ship, and of furnishing the Seamen with every Thing they stand in need of upon their landing, so that not only the Freight, but also the Seamen's Wages are wholly laid out in this Kingdom. Then, upon the Ship's clearing out for a new Voyage, a fresh Advantage accrues to our People here at home, from furnishing the Ship and Seamen with every Thing they want upon their Out-set; and every Ship carries out large Quantities of our own Produce and Manufacture, and such other Commodities as are proper for the Plantation Market.

There are Advantages, Sir, that arise from the Sugar's being unloaded in *Great Britain*; and then, if it is to be re-loaded for Exportation, our People have an Advantage by having a double Commission, and by the Rent for Warehouse Room while it is here; and they have another Advantage, by furnishing the Ship and Seamen employed in the Exportation, with every Thing they stand in need of upon their Out-set. But the great Advantage we reap by our Sugar's passing thro' this Island to foreign Parts is, that of its being manufactured and refined by our People here at

home, and thereby made to sell for a much higher Price at every foreign Market. It is chiefly owing to this, that the Sugar-baking Trade has been for so many Years a thriving Trade in this Nation, a Trade by which some Gentlemen have got large Fortunes, and many of our Poor a comfortable Subsistence.

But, Sir, if we allow Sugars to be exported from our Plantations to foreign Parts, we shall in a great Measure lose every one of these Advantages. They are beginning already to set up Sugar-baking at *Hamburg*, and several other Parts of *Europe*, where the Necessaries of Life, and consequently Labour, is much cheaper than it is here; so that if we allow our Sugars to go to them directly, we may in a short Time be entirely cut out of the Sugar-baking Trade; and though the Ships that carry these Sugars be by this Bill obliged to come to *Great Britain* before they return to the *West-Indies*, yet as refitting in most foreign Ports is cheaper than it is here, they will certainly refit at those Ports, and the Seamen will lay out at least the Moiety of their Wages, which by this Bill is allow'd to be paid them, at the foreign Port where the Ship is unloaded. By this Means, a great Part of the Freight will be laid out among Foreigners, and in a little Time, I believe, no Part, or a very small Share of it, will ever come to *Great Britain*; because, I make no Question, but that in a few Years our Planters, and other Subjects in our Plantations, will have Ships of their own for carrying their Sugars to a foreign Market; and of these Ships Foreigners may perhaps be the chief Owners; for this may be done in a clandestine Manner, and by borrowed Names, without the Master's knowing any Thing of it; and if the Nature of the Trade make it necessary or profitable, I do not doubt, but it will be done, notwithstanding all the Precautions that can be taken against it.

But the greatest Disadvantage and Danger attending this Bill is, That it will, in my Opinion, very much increase the Consumption of foreign Manufactures in our Sugar Plantations. I could mention several Particulars, Sir, but to give you as little Trouble as possible, I shall confine myself to the Article of Linens only. Every one knows, that besides foreign Linens, there are now great Quantities, both of *Scottish* and *Irish* Linens consumed in our Plantations. But if by this Bill we render it more convenient or cheaper for them to have foreign Linens, than it was heretofore, it must necessarily diminish the Consumption of *Scottish* and *Irish* Linens, and increase that of foreign. Now, that by this Bill, if it passes into a Law, our Plantations may have foreign Linens more conveniently and cheaper than heretofore, is, I think, manifest; for as the Law stands at present, no foreign Linens can be sent to our

Plantations without paying at least two Commissions, one to the foreign or *London* Factor upon Importation, and one to the *West-India* Factor upon Exportation; and besides, they must generally pay Warehouse Rent here in *Britain* for several Months, before they can be sent to the *West-Indies*; all which Charges these Linens will be free from, if this Bill should pass into a Law; because the Master of the Ship, by Order from the Planters, may, as soon as he has unloaded his Sugars at the foreign Port, take in a Cargo of Linens, and by landing them at any Port in *Britain*, and paying the Duties, he may reload them immediately, receive the Draw-back, and proceed with them directly to the *West-Indies*; and these Charges they are now subject to, besides the other Charges I have mentioned; so that foreign Linens must necessarily come cheaper to the Planter in the *West-Indies*, after this Bill is passed into a Law, than they could do before, and consequently, it will increase the Consumption of foreign, and diminish that of our home Manufacture of Linen. To which I must add, that the Master and Mariners of every such Ship, will certainly furnish themselves with Linen, and all other wearing Apparel, which, by reason of our high Duties, they may have at most foreign Ports, cheaper than they can have in *Great Britain*.

Another Danger is, Sir, That I'm afraid this Bill will turn the Course of our *African* Trade quite away from *Great Britain*; for as that Trade is chiefly supported by the Slaves we purchase for the *West-Indies*, as the poor People in that Country have, for the most Part, nothing else to give us in Return for the Produce and Manufactures of this Kingdom, which we carry to them, I am afraid, that most of our *West-India* Ships bound to *Holland* or *Hamburg* with Sugars, will there take in a Loading for *Africa*, and after making a proper Entry at some of our Out Ports, and reloading directly, proceed to *Africa*, and there purchase a Cargo of Slaves for our Plantations; by which Means the People of this Island would lose the whole Benefit of the outward Cargo to *Africa*, and would have little or no Benefit by the Sugars which purchased that Cargo, or by the Cargo of Slaves from *Africa* to the *West-Indies*. And the last Disadvantage I shall take Notice of is, that this Bill may probably make us lose the Benefit of Insurance upon most of the Ships bound from our Plantations with Sugars to foreign Ports; for as they must settle a Correspondence at those foreign Ports, and will stay but a very short Time at any Port in *Great Britain*, they will probably insure the Ship and Cargo at that Port where they have settled their chief Correspondence; which must diminish the Business of our *British* Insurers, and will be a Loss to the Nation in general.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will

appear, that the Disadvantages and Dangers of passing this Bill into a Law are manifest, and I cannot think there is the least Necessity for our running such a Risk. I shall readily grant, that our Sugar Colonies deserve all the Encouragement we can give them, consistently with the Trade and Happiness of their Mother Country; and I shall likewise grant, that they stand in Need of being relieved from some of those Pressures they at present labour under; but the Decay of our Sugar Trade, and the Difficulties our Sugar Planters labour under, do not proceed from the Necessity of landing all their Sugars in *Great Britain*, before they can be exported to a foreign Market. They proceed from the Oppressions of our Governors, the Taxes which Planters are obliged to pay upon Slaves, and many other Things necessary for their Sugar Plantations, and particularly, from that monstrous Tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. which is payable upon all Sugars exported from most of our Sugar Islands. This last is really a most monstrous Grievance. After so visible a Decay of our Sugar Trade, and so many Complaints upon that Head, the Continuance of this Tax is surprizing, and it is the more surprizing, considering the small Revenue from thence arising to the Publick. The annual Amount of this Revenue does not exceed 7000*l.* There is, I believe, a larger Sum accounted for, and a much larger raised upon the Planters; but even that raised upon the Planters, is not, I think, computed to amount to much above 27,000*l.* yearly; and 20,000*l.* of this, it seems, either sticks to the Fingers of those whose Hands it comes through, or is expended in Pensions and Salaries, which are either quite useless to the Colony, or such as might be much better supplied in another Way.

We have been of late, Sir, extremely generous, we have this Year granted 5000*l.* publick Money, for a Remedy we know nothing of; (see p. 150.) we have for several Years granted 10,000*l.* a Year to our *African* Company, for supporting our Trade to *Africa*; we have for some Years granted 20,000*l.* to *Georgia*, for supporting I do not know what Trade; nay, even this Year, we have given them 20,000*l.* tho' by the late Convention, ratified by his Majesty, and approved by both Houses of Parliament, a full Stop has been put, not only to their Fortifications, but even to their extending their Plantations. To me it is amazing, that with all this Generosity, we cannot think of giving up a Tax which brings in but 7000*l.* a Year to the publick Revenue, for the Sake of recovering and preserving the Sugar Trade, which has saved or brought in so many Millions to this Kingdom. This is a Profusion and a Parimony, which I cannot comprehend the Reason of: It looks as if we had a greater Regard to the Trade of Pensions and Perquisites, than

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to any other Trade in the Kingdom; but those who deal in that Trade should consider, that if we lose all other Trade, the Trade they deal in will soon come to Decay.

As all our Complaints in the Sugar Trade, Sir, are founded upon the heavy Charges our Sugars come loaded with to Market; and as this is the heaviest and the most useless and unnecessary Charge laid upon them, it should in the first Place be removed. Then, if to this we should add some new Regulations for laying our *West-India* Governors under such Restrictions as the *French* Governors are laid under: If we should prevent its being in the Power of any of our Governors to ask or accept of any Presents from those subjected to their Government, it would remove another most heavy Charge, which all our Sugars come loaded with to Market; because it would prevent our Planters being under a Temptation to lay Taxes upon those Materials that are necessary for producing and manufacturing their Sugars, in order to raise Money for satisfying the Avarice, or supplying the Luxury of their Governors, whose Favour they must, and always will contentiously endeavour to gain.

I could mention several other Expedients, Sir, for recovering and even improving our Sugars Trade, which might be accomplished with great Ease, and without any Danger; but the two I have mentioned would alone be sufficient for giving our Sugars an Advantage at every Market in *Europe*, and therefore, there can be no Necessity for our trying such a dangerous Experiment, as that intended by the Bill now before us; for which Reason, I must be against its being passed into a Law.

The next Speech was made in Favour of the Bill, by M. Valerius Corvus, and was in Substance thus;

Mr. President,
SIR,

I AM sorry to differ from my Hon. Friend, who has given you his Sentiments upon the Bill now before us, and the more so, because it is what seldom happens. I have generally the good Fortune to find him of the same Opinion with me, in most Things that come to be disputed in this Club; and even upon the present Occasion, I shall most readily join with him in the latter Part of his Discourse. I am as much surprized as he can be, that the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Duty has not been long ago taken off: I am likewise surprized, that Care has not been long since taken, to restrain our Governors from oppressing and skinning the Plantations committed to their Care, or tempting our Planters to oppress and ruin themselves, in order to gain their Favour. If those whose Busines it is, had our Trade as much at Heart, as they ought, both these

Things would have been done long before now; and in that Case, I am perswaded, we should not now have been complaining of the Loss of our Sugar Trade. But, as neither my Hon. Friend, nor I, can hope for being able to make either of these Propositions effectual, I cannot allow myself to be diverted by Hopes I at present think chimerical, from pursuing the Proposition now before us; because I think it will be of some Service, and can be attended with no Danger.

The Navigation Act, Sir, and the other Laws mentioned in the Preamble of this Bill, have certainly been of great Benefit to this Nation. They were certainly right, at the Time they were enacted; and if Circumstances were now the same, I should be against altering them in any Part; but that may be Prudence in one Age, which in another would be the Height of Madness. When those Laws were passed, we had a Monopoly of the Sugar Trade: No Nation in *Europe* could then have any large Quantity of Sugars, but what they had from us; and if the Case were now the same, I should be for loading them with as many Charges as Gentlemen could reasonably contrive: I should be for enabling our own People to make as great an Advantage of them, as they could wish for. But the Case is now very different: We have now a Rival, and a dangerous Rival in the Sugar Trade; and if we do not allow Foreigners to have our Sugars, at least as cheap as they can have the same Sort of Commodity from our Rival, they will have none of ours: They will take every Shilling's Worth they have Occasion for from our Rival in the Sugar Trade.

This, Sir, is the Case at present. Since the Treaty of *Utrecht* the *French* have with great Industry enlarged their Sugar Plantations in the *West-Indies*; and by prudent and seasonable Regulations they have greatly improved that Trade. If we had been as wise and vigilant, as we ought to have been, we might have prevented that Improvement: We might have ruined the *French* Sugar Trade in its Infancy, by taking off all those unnecessary Charges that enhanced the Price of our Sugars at the foreign Market; but either thro' Ignorance or Neglect, or perhaps from worse Motives, we persisted in those Regulations, which were well enough, as long as we had no Rival, tho' they became ruinous, as soon as we began to have one. By this we have established the *French* Sugar Trade, and quite ruined our own, so far as relates to the foreign Market; for we now export but very little Sugar, either refined or unrefined, to any Market in *Europe*; and if the Trade remains in its present Circumstances but a very few Years, we shall export none at all: Nay, I do not know, but that we may soon stand in need of as severe Laws for preventing the

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Running of *French* Sugars, as we now have for preventing the Running of *French* Brandies.

The Dispute therefore, Sir, is not, upon this Occasion, between our Planters in the *West-Indies* and our People here at home: The Question is, Whether we shall encourage and entirely establish the *French* Sugar Trade, by giving up to them all foreign Markets for Sugar? If we export no Sugars, neither the Nation, nor our Planters in the *West-Indies*, nor our People here at home, can reap any Advantage by a foreign Exportation. Therefore, the Loss our People here at home may sustain by allowing a direct Exportation from our Plantations, is quite out of the present Question; for if there can be no Exportation of Sugars from *Great Britain*, our People here at home can suffer no Loss, by our encouraging an Exportation from another Part of our Dominions. The only Question now in Dispute is, Whether we shall encourage the Exportation of Sugars from *France*, or from our own Sugar Colonies? In this Light, I am sure, no Gentleman that hears me will make it a Question; because, by encouraging an Exportation from *France*, we add to the Riches and Strength of our most dangerous Rival in Power as well as Trade; and by encouraging an Exportation from our own Colonies, we diminish the Riches and Strength of our Rival, and we add to the Riches and Strength of this Nation, without doing the least Damage to our People here at home.

For this Reason, Sir, Gentlemen should carefully consider, upon this Occasion, whether or no it be possible for us, in our present Circumstances, to export any Sugars to a foreign Market; for if it be not, every Objection that has been made against this Bill, falls to the Ground. And then we ought to consider, whether the Regulation now proposed, may not some Way contribute towards rendering it possible for us to export Sugars to a foreign Market; for if it can in the least contribute towards that End, we ought to agree to it. From these two Considerations, we ought to determine ourselves in the Case now before us, and both are, I think, evidently in Favour of this Bill. The Accounts upon our Table, shew what large Quantities we used to export before the *French* began to rival us in that Trade, how gradually our Exportation has decreased as they have improved, and what an inconsiderable Trifle it is now reduced to. Nay, the very Nature of the Trade must shew, that unless we allow of a direct Exportation from our Sugar Colonies, the *French* will always be able to undersell us, and consequently exclude us from every foreign Market in *Europe*. While they allow of a direct Exportation, and we do not, the Case is plain, because the Charge of a double Freight, double Commission, Warehouse Room,

Reloading, and several petty Expences, will always be a Charge upon our Sugars at every foreign Market, which their Sugars are free from. But suppose they should not allow of a direct Exportation no more than we, with regard to an Exportation to the *Baltick*, *Hamburg* or *Holland*, their Ports in the Channel, especially *Dunkirk*, which we have allowed them to make a Port of, contrary to express Stipulation in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, lie more convenient than either the Ports of *London* or *Bristol*, which are the two where our chief Importations are made; and with regard to an Exportation to *Flanders*, and to the Southward of *Cape Finisterre*, their Ports lie more convenient than ours, which will always give them an Advantage over us at all foreign Markets, unless we allow of a direct Exportation from our Sugar Colonies.

From hence it is plain, Sir, that unless we allow of a direct Exportation, it will always be impossible for us to export any Sugars to a foreign Market; and that the Regulation now proposed, will contribute towards rendering it possible for us to export our Sugars to a foreign Market, we may be convinced of from Experience; for tho' the *French* have for many Years allowed of a direct Exportation from their Colonies, and tho' we have, during that whole Time, most ridiculously persisted in our Resolution not to allow of any such Exportation from ours, which loaded our Sugars sent to foreign Markets, with a Charge of 8 or 10 per Cent. at an Average, the *French* Sugars were free from, yet we continued till very lately to export large Quantities; which shews, that if we had been upon an equal Footing with the *French*, we should have undersold them; and that if we were now put upon that Footing, notwithstanding their great Improvement in the Sugar Trade, we should at least rival them, if not beat them out of every Market in *Europe*.

But, Sir, there is nothing more clearly shews the Advantage of the Regulation proposed, than the Precedent my Hon. Friend was pleased to mention with regard to Rice. It is not many Years since we had not a Pound of Rice produced in any of our Dominions, and were therefore obliged to have all our Rice from Foreigners. By Chance our Planters in *Carolina* began to produce that useful Commodity, and soon supplied us here at home with all we wanted, and at a much cheaper Rate than we used to have it. As soon as they began to do us this Favour, by Way of a grateful Return, we restrained them in their Rice Trade, by making it an enumerated Commodity, in Pursuance of that wise Maxim, of confining the Trade of our Colonies to their Mother Country, whether the Nature of the Trade will admit of it or no. Whilst Rice continued under this Restraint, we sent but little to any foreign Market; but

at last we grew wise enough to allow them to export Rice from Carolina, directly to any Part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre, and since that Time we have yearly sent large Quantities of Rice to foreign Markets. This is a full Proof, that a direct Exportation from our Colonies, will always enable us to sell any Commodity at a foreign Market much cheaper than it can be sold, when it must be first landed in *Great Britain*; and as we now find by Experience, that we can sell no Sugar at any foreign Market, as long as it must be first landed in *Great Britain*, we ought at least to try that Expedient, which we have found to answer so well with regard to Rice. We have found no Inconvenience or Disadvantage from allowing the direct Exportation of Rice, and if we can otherwise export no Sugars, which is really the Case, I am sure we shall find as little Inconvenience or Disadvantage from allowing a direct Exportation of Sugars; but to make this the more evident, I shall particularly consider the Objections that have been made to it.

As for its being a dangerous Precedent with regard to our other enumerated Commodities, there can be no Weight in the Objection; for this can be no Precedent, unless our Trade in some of our other enumerated Commodities should be in Danger of falling under the same Circumstances that our Sugar Trade is in at present; and whenever this happens to be the Case, we ought to allow a direct Exportation of that Commodity, even tho' there were no Precedent in its Favour. If the *French*, Sir, should become our Rivals in the Tobacco Trade, and if they continue their Improvements upon the River *Mississippi*, they may, I should be for allowing our Tobacco Planters a direct Exportation, rather than allow the *French* to supply all the foreign Markets in *Europe* with Tobacco; and I am sure, every Man who sedately considered the Interest of his Country, or even his own, would be of my Opinion; for if a Tobacco Factor saw the Value of his Commissions for Exportation dwindling away daily, by reason of the foreign Markets being supplied by the *French* with Tobacco, he must foresee that he would soon entirely lose the Benefit of the Commission, and his Country the Benefit of the Production and Sale; therefore, he would willingly resign a private Benefit, which he forefaw would soon dwindle to nothing, in order to secure to his Country the Benefit of the Production and Sale. This Precedent, therefore, can never be of any dangerous Consequence, but may be of Advantage, by putting us into a Method of preventing our Trade in any other enumerated Commodity, from falling under the Misfortune our Sugar Trade has now fallen into; for when a Branch of Trade is once lost, it is not so easily regained.

I shall allow, Sir, that our People here at

home have an Advantage by Commission, and by several other Articles, when Sugars are exported; but when none are, they can have no such Advantages. They have already lost those Advantages, and therefore cannot be said to be in Danger of losing them by this Bill: But their private Loss is not the only one; the Nation, by endeavouring to preserve the Advantage they had by Commission, has lost the Advantage of the Production and Sale. The Advantage they had by Commission, is what we cannot recover; the national Advantage in the Production and Sale we may recover, and I have shewn, that the Regulation proposed by this Bill, is the proper Way of doing it. With regard to Refining, the Case is the same, our People can have no Advantage by Refining for Exportation, unless we do export; and if Foreigners can underwork us in the Refining Trade, may not they do it in *French* Sugars, as well as those of our own Growth? We had better, therefore, furnish them with Sugars unrefined, than with none at all. Our Sugar-Bakers could no Way suffer by it, because they now refine little or nothing for Exportation: Nay, if Foreigners should refine all we sent them, our Sugar-Bakers could no Way suffer; for as none of those Sugars could be re-imported, our Sugar-Bakers would retain the Refining Trade for home Consumption, which is the only Trade they now enjoy. But the great Decay in our Exportation of refined Sugars, is not so much owing to our People's being out-done or underwork'd in the Refining of Sugars by Foreigners, as to the high Duties paid upon Importation, which the Refiner must advance and lie out of, till he has made his Sugars fit for being exported. This is the Cause that none but rich Men can engage in the Trade; and when a Trade is confined to a few Hands, or to the Rich only, tho' the Labourers may have but small Wages, the Masters will not be satisfied with such small Profits, as they would be, if there were a great Number of Men of moderate Fortunes engaged in the Trade.

I am, indeed, surprized, Sir, to hear it so much as imagined, that our Ships employed in the direct Exportation of Sugars would refit at foreign Ports, or that Planters or Foreigners would become the chief Owners of such Ships. As the Seamen must all be continued in Pay, till the Ship returns to *Britain*, the Master would certainly put off refitting, till he returned hither, because he could here immediately discharge his Seamen, and thereby save all their Wages during the Time his Ship was refitting, whereby he would save more than the Difference, if there be any, between refitting at this Port, and refitting at any other Port in *Europe*; and as the major Part of his Owners must, by this Bill, be such as are residing in *Great Britain*, they would generally chuse to have a Concern in

refitting their Ship, and would therefore oblige him to return hither before he refitted. But suppose these Ships were all to be refitted in foreign Ports, suppose the Seamen should spend all their Wages there, and suppose the Ships were all to belong to Planters and Foreigners, our People here at home could lose none of the Advantages they now enjoy; because we now export no Sugars, and consequently can have no Ships or Seamen employed in that Trade. We can now have no Ships employed in the Sugar Trade, but such as are employed in bringing hither our Sugars for home Consumption; therefore, for Example's Sake, I shall suppose, we have now twenty Ships employed in the Sugar Trade, and that by regaining a Sale for our Sugars at foreign Markets, ten other Ships should be employed in the direct Exportation: Our People here at home would still have all the Advantages they now have by the twenty Ships, and, allowing every Thing that can be supposed, they would get some Advantages, which they do not now enjoy, by the other ten Ships being obliged to repair to some Port in *Britain* before their Return to the Plantations. Therefore, if by allowing a direct Exportation, we should recover our foreign Sugar Trade, our People here at home would certainly reap some Benefit they do not now enjoy, and the Nation would reap a great deal.

With regard, Sir, to what has been said about foreign Linens, I do not think, that our allowing a direct Exportation of Sugars would make the least Alteration in the Price of that Commodity to the Planter; for if he employed the Master of a Ship, as his Super-cargo, to purchase Linens for him, he must allow the Master Commission for what he does as Supercargo, and the Master must go to a Factor at *Hamburg* for purchasing such Linens, as well as a *West-India* Factor must go to a *Hamburg* Factor at *London*. In both Cases the Planter must pay double Commission, the Freight and Insurance is the same, and as the Linens must be landed in *Great Britain*, and must be put into a Warehouse, whilst the Ship is refitting, I believe the Planter would find the Linens come dearer than if he had commissioned them from *London*, or any other Port in *Great Britain*. I shall, indeed, allow, that the Master and Seamen might, perhaps, furnish themselves with a few Shirts, or the like; but must we never allow any of our Ships to put into a foreign Port, for fear our Seamen should lay out a little of their Money at that Port? Or shall we grudge their laying out a Moiety of their Wages among those Foreigners, who pay them the Whole of their Wages? For those that purchase the Cargo, are the Persons that pay the Freight, and consequently pay both the Master and Seamen their whole Wages.

Now, Sir, with regard to the *African Trade*, if a Cargo for *Africa* can be got better or cheaper in *Holland*, or at *Hamburg*, than in *Great Britain*, I shall allow, that People will always purchase that Cargo, as well as every other Cargo, where they find they can have it best and cheapest; but, I am sure, it is more probable, that a Ship designed from *London* for *Africa*, will sail to *Holland* or *Hamburg*, there take in her Cargo for *Africa*, and proceed with it directly to *Africa*, than that a Ship will take in a Cargo in *Holland* or at *Hamburg*, which she is obliged to land in *Great Britain*, and reload again, before she can proceed to *Africa*. Therefore, if any Thing can serve to secure to us the whole Benefit of our *African Trade*, it will be this, of allowing a direct Exportation of our Sugars; for as many of those Ships may return by the Way of *Africa* to our Plantations, and as it will be extremely inconvenient for them to take in any Part of their Cargo for *Africa*, at the Port where they unload their Sugars, they must all resolve to purchase the Whole in *Great Britain*, even tho' they should pay a little dearer for it, than they could have it at the Port where they unload.

The only other Objection I can think of, Sir, is that relating to the Insurance, upon which I must observe, that Sugar is a very dangerous Commodity to insure, and Custom has, I think, settled the Price at a Rate not equal to the Risk; so that, if we should lose the Insurance upon our Sugars designed for a foreign Market, it would be no great Loss with respect to our future Gains, and with respect to our present, it could be no Loss at all, because we export none, and consequently can get nothing by insuring Sugars for a foreign Market; for this is the Mistake that runs thro' the Whole of the Argument against this Bill: It is supposed, that we now make great Advantages by the Exportation of Sugars, and that we are to lose some of those Advantages by admitting a direct Exportation; which is a Supposition that appears to be false, by the Accounts upon our Table. But even as to our future Gains, if we do recover an Exportation of Sugars by Means of this Bill, I believe they will be all insured in *Great Britain*; for as every Planter must have a Correspondent in *Britain*, and as our Planters will always put a greater Confidence in *British* Insurers than in foreign, I think it highly probable, that every one of them will order all the Sugars he sends to *Britain*, or even directly to foreign Parts, to be insured at some of our own Offices; so that with respect to Insurance, we shall, probably, rather increase than diminish that Trade by the Bill now before us.

Having now, I think, Sir, answered all the Objections that have been made to this Bill, I shall take Notice of one Advantage we must

must reap, if we can, by Means of this Regulation, recover the Exportation of Sugars to *Holland*, *Hamburg*, or the *Baltick*. As our Ships that carry Sugars directly to either of these Places, must return to *Great Britain*, and must return in Ballast, if they cannot find a Cargo where they are, they will accept of any Freight, rather than go without; which will of Course bring the Rate of Freight from these Places to *London* so low, that none but they, besides the usual regular Sloops, will ever be employed; so that we shall recover the Advantage of Freight from those Countries, which is an Advantage we have in a great Measure lost, because most of the Goods we take from them, are now sent to us in their own Bottoms.

Upon all which, Sir, I must conclude with saying, that I can see no Inconvenience we can be exposed to, by having this Bill passed into a Law. The only Danger I apprehend is, that it will not answer the End proposed, especially, considering the many Restrictions this direct Exportation is to be loaded with. But if this does not do, we must, I hope we shall, have recourse to what my Hon. Friend has proposed, and to every Thing that can be proposed, with the least Appearance of Success; for the Sugar Trade, is a Trade of vast Consequence to this Nation, and it is of the more Consequence, because it is like to go to a Nation, of which we ought to be more jealous, than of any other in *Europe*. Let us not therefore, from little local Views, from Views of preferring one Part of our own People to another, refuse any Thing that may contribute towards enabling our Planters, either to produce their Sugars, or to send them to a foreign Market, with a less Charge, than they can do at present. I shall always have a due Regard for our Mother Country; I shall always be for giving this Island the Preference in every Branch of Trade, as long as that Preference does not expose us to the Danger of being supplanted by Foreigners; but wherever I see an apparent Danger of this Kind, I shall be for preferring our own People to Foreigners; and therefore shall be for taking off every Restraint, that was contrived by the Wisdom of our Ancestors for giving an Advantage, or a Monopoly of that Trade, to the People of this Island. It is this that makes me for the Bill now under our Consideration, and this ought to make every Gentleman for it, that has a greater Regard for the Trade of *Britain*, than he has for the Trade of *France*. Whether we shall endeavour to recover the former, or establish the latter, is the only proper Question now before us; but I am convinced my Hon. Friend did not view it in this Light: If he had, I am absolutely certain, he would have said nothing against it.

[This Journal to be continued in our next.]

Extract of a Letter from Mr. William Richardson, who was on board the Burford at the taking of PORTO BELLO.

A *ON* the auspicious 5th of November last, we weighed Anchor, and sailed from *Jamaica* for *Porto Bello*: The *Burford*, *Admiral Vernon*; the *Hampton-Court*, *Commodore Brown*; the *Louisa*, *Capt. Waterhouse*; the *Strafford*, *Capt. Trevor*; the *Worcester*, *Capt. Main*; and the *Norwich*, *Capt. Herbert*; being 2 of 70, 3 of 60, and 1 of 50 Guns. On the 21st in the Afternoon, we came up with *Porto Bello* Harbour. The Town is situate in the Bottom of a Bay, above a Mile deep, and near half a Mile broad at the Mouth of the Harbour, where a strong Castle and Fort stood on the Side of a steep Rock, with 300 Men, and 100 great Guns, called the *Iron Castle*: On the opposite Side, but about a Mile farther up, stood Castle *Gloria*, larger than the other, having 400 Men, and 120 Guns, most of them the largest ever seen: This was also situate on the Side of a high Rock, and under the Cannon of it, and of Fort *St. Hieronymo*, which was a strong Battery nearly opposite, all the Ships belonging to the Harbour rode at Anchor. On the *Iron Castle* the *Spaniards* hoisted up the Flag of *Defiance*; and, as we were told by themselves afterwards, they wish'd earnestly for our attempting to come in, as believing they could sink us all immediately; but said, they fear'd we were only making a second *Bastimento* Expedition, and would not give them the Pleasure of engaging us.

B But they were soon gratify'd in their Wishes; for the *Hampton-Court* made directly opposite to the Castle, being in the Van; and, as the Wind had died away, she dropp'd her Anchor before it, receiving a very brisk Fire from the *Spaniards* at the Distance of little more than a Cable's Length. She soon convinced them that she was both willing and able to return it, for in about 25 Minutes she fir'd above 400 Shot against the Castle; so that nothing was to be seen but Fire and Smoke on both Sides. The *Norwich* then came up next, who met with the same Reception; and altho' she did not fire quite so quick as the *Hampton-Court*, yet we could observe that her Shot was so well aim'd as to put the *Spaniards* a good deal off their Metal, hardly returning her one Gun for three. In 28 Minutes the *Worcester* got up also, who anchoring close by the other two, did no small Execution against the Castle, in a little Time knocking down the higher Part of it, and driving many of the *Spaniards* from their Guns. We made all the Sail possible, and came before the Castle with the Blue Flag at our Fore-Top-Mast Head, and the Bloody Flag at the Main-Top-Mast Head, in 20 Minutes

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But they were soon gratify'd in their Wishes; for the *Hampton-Court* made directly opposite to the Castle, being in the Van; and, as the Wind had died away, she dropp'd her Anchor before it, receiving a very brisk Fire from the *Spaniards* at the Distance of little more than a Cable's Length. She soon convinced them that she was both willing and able to return it, for in about 25 Minutes she fir'd above 400 Shot against the Castle; so that nothing was to be seen but Fire and Smoke on both Sides. The *Norwich* then came up next, who met with the same Reception; and altho' she did not fire quite so quick as the *Hampton-Court*, yet we could observe that her Shot was so well aim'd as to put the *Spaniards* a good deal off their Metal, hardly returning her one Gun for three. In 28 Minutes the *Worcester* got up also, who anchoring close by the other two, did no small Execution against the Castle, in a little Time knocking down the higher Part of it, and driving many of the *Spaniards* from their Guns. We made all the Sail possible, and came before the Castle with the Blue Flag at our Fore-Top-Mast Head, and the Bloody Flag at the Main-Top-Mast Head, in 20

Minutes after the *Worcester*. The Admiral, whose Conduct and Courage is hardly to be parallel'd, order'd our Anchor to be dropp'd within half a Cable's Length of the Castle, as being resolv'd to convince them we were no Way afraid of all they could do. Notwithstanding they had discharg'd very few Guns for some Minutes before we came up; yet, as if they had resolv'd to summon up all their Courage against the Flag, they welcom'd us with a terrible Volley, which, being at so short a Distance, took Place with almost every Shot. One struck away the Stern of our Barge; another broke a large Gun upon our upper Deck; a third went thro' our Fore-Top-Mast; and a fourth, passing thro' the *Araing* within two Inches of our Main-Mast, broke down the Barricado of our Quarter Deck, very near the Admiral, and kill'd 3 Men in a Moment, wounding 5 others which stood by them. This look'd as if we should have bloody Work, but was far from discouraging our brave Fellows, (who in every Ship were so zealous as hardly to be restrain'd from firing) for we return'd their Salute in such a Manner, that altho' they fir'd a Shot now and then, yet they never did us the least Damage afterwards. We drove them from all their lower Guns the first Broad Side, and by a Spring upon our Cabl, bringing about our Starboard Guns, we gave them another in 3 Minutes, and so on for 6 or 7 Rounds, which made them quite sick of the Affair, and we could observe them flying for Refuge into the Ambuscades. The Admiral, taking the Advantage of this Remission, order'd out the Boats with our third Lieutenant Mr. Broderrick, and about 40 Sailors, as also a Company of Marines and their Officers, whom he commanded to land under the Fire of our Guns in the very Front of the lower Battery; and making a Signal for two other Ships to follow the Example, they all landed safe but 2 Soldiers, who were kill'd by the Small Arms from the Castle. One Man set himself close under an Embrassier, whilst another climb'd upon his Shoulders and enter'd under the Mouth of a great Gun. This so dismay'd the Spaniards, that they threw down their Arms and fled to the Top of the Castle; from whence sealing backwards, we could see them run into the Woods by hundreds, and fly for their Lives.

All the Boats Crews were on the Platform in three Minutes after landing, and struck the Spanish Flag of Defiance, hoisting the English Colours. The Capitano and Officers which were taken in the Castle, shut themselves up in a strong Lodgment; but upon our Lieutenant's firing a Gun or two thro' the Door, they quickly open'd it, and begg'd Quarter. Thus this *Iron Castle* was taken by four English Ships (for the *Louis* and *Strafford* were not come up) in two Hours,

which, in the Hands of so many *Englishmen*, might have been defended against all the Naval Force of *Spain*. The *Gloria* and *Hieronymo* Forts kept firing towards us all the Time of Action, but most of their Shot fell short, or flew over our Rigging. After we had get Possession of the *Iron Castle*, we tried to reach them with our lower Deck Guns, and could observe, that in a few Minutes we were fortunate, as to have struck down their Flag-Staff at the *Gloria Castle*, and beat down several Houses in the Town; we also sunk a Sloop near Fort St. *Hieronymo* and the *Gloria*. The Contest lasting till Night, put an End to the Engagement, when it was resolved in full Council, that as there was no Wind, every Ship should warp up to the Fortifications, and come to Action as soon as possible in the Morning; but just as we began to move about Break of Day, we observed a Boat coming towards us with a Flag of Truce and Terms of Capitulation, viz. That the Government would deliver up all the Fortifications, provided they might be allow'd to march out with the Honours of War; have an Indemnity for themselves, the Town, and the Inhabitants; and be permitted to enjoy all the Ships in the Harbour. This last alone was rejected; for the Admiral resolved to have all the Ship, being the *very Ships* which had done our Merchants all the Injuries complain'd of in these Coasts; as also the *English* Factors and Effects of the *South-Sea Company*, deliver'd up to us.

They readily complied, and we took Possession of the Ships and Forts accordingly. In the *Gloria* we found 120 Guns, 200 Small Arms and Blunderbusses, as many Swords, 200 Barrels of Powder, four large Mortar, Thousands of Iron and Copper Balls, with the Guns and Ammunition in the *Iron Castle*, of which about 87 (in all) are of Brass, together with two Men of War of 24 Guns, one Snow of 14, four good Sloops, a *Paraguay*, and *Half-Galley*. We have also had the good Luck to find about 10,000 Dollars belonging to the King of *Spain*, which the Admiral distributed among his Majesty's Forces for their Encouragement.

We have broke the Trunnions of all the Iron Guns, which will render them useless, and blasted all the Foundations, and burnt the Superstructures of the Castles, so that some Millions will hardly compensate the Damage. It is absolutely impossible ever to restore them to the Condition in which we found them, because the Foundations are so much shatter'd and split by Mining, as to render it impracticable to attempt rebuilding them on the same Spot.

Porto Bello is no large Town, consisting only of about 500 Houses, two Churches, a Treasury, a Custom-house, and Exchange. The Inhabitants depend entirely upon the

Fair,

Fair, which is held here about six Weeks every 2 or 3 Years in the Time of Peace, according as the Galleons happen to arrive from *Cartagena*, where they always first dispose of Part of their Goods, and then come down here, where they are met by all the Merchants from the great Cities of *Lima* and *Panama*, with Millions of Money to purchase their Merchandise. (See Admiral Vernon's Account, and a farther Description of the Place, &c. in our last, p. 147, 148, 149, 150.)

Craftsman, March 29. N^o 717.

Remarks on the Success of his MAJESTY's Arms, under the Command of Vice-Admiral VERNON.

THE taking of *Porto Bello*, blowing up all the Fortifications, seizing their Ships, bringing away a great Quantity of *Brafs Cannon*, and destroying the rest of less Value, so that the Place can never be fortify'd again without a prodigious Expence, are a very great Honour to that brave Officer, who did all this with six MEN OF WAR ONLY. But when we consider his Humanity to the Inhabitants, which is always inseparable from true Courage, we have Reason to expect farther Consequences from it; for the Place being now laid open to Trade, and in our Hands, why may not we reap some Advantages from it? The Inhabitants of that Part of the World can neither eat nor drink *Silver*, *Gold*, or *Diamonds*: They must therefore be supply'd with Food and Raiment from some foreign Nation; and therefore, why may not we share, at least, in this Trade, as well as any other Country, when we have so considerable a Pledge in our Hands?

But having mention'd that this important Acquisition was obtain'd by six Men of War only, it must be confess'd, that Admiral Vernon was very much obliged to his Excellency Mr. *Trelawney*, the present worthy Governor of *Jamaica*, who finding the *Admiral* sent thither upon so national an Account, without any *Land-Forces*, or any discretionary Power to raise them in any of our *American Colonies*, generously furnish'd him with about 200 Men, being half the *Land-Force* of the whole Island. He could not have done this, if he had not first render'd himself exceedingly beloved there by his disinterested Administration, and wise Conduct in making a Treaty with the *rebellious Negroes*.

This is a plain Proof of what we might have done, many Years ago, when we had a much superior Force in the *West-Indies*, under the Command of another brave and experienced *Admiral*.—Yet fewer Men were now lost in taking the Place by Admiral Vernon, than die every Day, whilst Admiral *Hosier* lay in

that unwholesome Climate. For besides the *Admiral* himself, 2 other *Admirals*, 13 *Captains*, above 40 *Lieutenants*, and near 4000 *common Seamen*, were lost in that Expedition.

Admiral *Vernon* hath had the good Fortune to meet with much better Success in his Enterprise, so prudently conducted, and so bravely executed, that it must give the utmost Joy to all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, as both *Houses* express themselves, since it affords the most reasonable Hopes and Expectations that, by the Blessing of God upon his Majesty's Arms, it may be attended with other important Advantages, and highly contribute to the obtaining real and effectual Security for those just Rights of Navigation and Commerce, belonging to the British Subjects, for the Preservation of which his Majesty enter'd into this necessary War.

In Answer to which, his Majesty was most graciously pleased to thank them for their dutiful Congratulations on this Success of his Arms, which is so much for the Honour and Interest of his Crown and Kingdoms, that he declared it to be very agreeable to him. (See p. 150, 151.)

This will certainly redound to the immortal Honour of the gallant Gentleman, who hath done his King and Country such eminent Service; and who can deserve it better?—Does it not shew the highest Degree of Generosity and publick Spirit in any Man, who had received not only hard Usage by being deprived of his Right, without any just Cause, but likewise several Indignities, to leave his Retirement upon the first Summons, desiring only four or five Days to sett'e his Family Affairs, and sacrifice all his private Resentments to the Good of the Publick, as soon as the Interest of his King and Country required his Service? What could the antient Patriots of *Greece* and *Rome* have done more, upon such an Occasion? What Pleasure must it give the *Admiral*, and the Officers under his Command, when they hear what Honours have been paid them in *England*?

But let us suppose that a competent Number of *Land Forces* had been sent with them, or after them; what farther Triumphs might we not have expected? Might not one bold and successful Stroke have put a speedy Period to this War, by reducing our Enemies to honourable Terms, saving very great Expence, and many Losses, which our Trade may yet sustain by the Continuance of it? Would it not, in all Probability, have put us in Possession of some important Place, which might for ever hereafter be a more effectual Security than any temporary Expedients, by the stale Method of *Negotiation*?

I cannot, in this Place, forbear mentioning a Story, I late'y heard of a *Barber*, most of whom have always been great Politicians. A worthy Gentleman being under his Operation, the *Barber* ask'd him whether he had

not

not heard the *rare News*; upon which the Gentleman ask'd him *What News?*—What News, said the Barber! Have you not heard, Sir, that we have taken the *Havannah*?—Taken the *Havannah*! reply'd the Gentleman, with some Earnestness, by what Means?—Why, I'll tell you, Sir.—Do you think that the Regiments sent for from *Ireland* were designed to prevent an Invasion, or Descent upon *England*? No, no, Sir, that was only a Piece of Policy to amuse the *Spaniards*; for I have certain Intelligence that they were stoln away in Transports for the *Havannah*, and are now in actual Possession of it.—Egad, Sir, let the *Malecontents* say what they please, our *M—rs* are not such *Blunderers* as they would have them thought!

As judicious as this Story may seem, it is not without a Foundation of good Sense; and it were to be wish'd, that *some of our great Men* had been wise enough to hit upon this Scheme of the *politick Barber*.—But to be serious.

Admiral *Vernon* hath the *Approbation* of the *King*, of both *Houses of Parliament*, and the general *Voice* of the *People* on his Side.—There may, perhaps, be *some Persons*, who secretly wish, for *their own Vices*, that he had not done so much Honour to his long-insulted Country, and therefore may endeavour to depreciate and ridicule his *Conduct* in private, whilst they publickly take the whole *Merit* of it to *themselves*. This is the common *Artifice* of *wicked and bungling Statesmen*; but all the honest, unbias'd, and sensible Part of Mankind will easily see thro' such mean *Tricks*, and despise them.

It is not to be doubted that the glorious Success of his *Majesty's Arms* hath highly provoked the *Court of Spain*, tho' I believe it hath humbled them too, and that they will endeavour to put the worst Construction upon this *Action*. Let them do it; and may our *Admiral* give them many more such Provocations, till we have mortified their haughty *Spirits*, and obliged them to sue for *Peace*, upon just and honourable Terms! Admiral *Vernon* hath prov'd himself a *second Raleigh* in the *West-Indies*, I hope we shall never see another *Gardemar* in this Kingdom, nor a *Spanish Faction* to support him; but if that shou'd ever be our Curse, we may firmly depend upon the *Justice*, *Wisdom* and *Magnanimity* of his *present Majesty*, that he will not lend the least Ear to any such Sollicitations, but treat them with the utmost Contempt and Indignation.

When I had gone thus far, I happened to cast my Eye upon the *Gazetteer* of *Monday last*; where one of those *modest Writers* is pleased to abuse *these Gentlemen*, who have long exerted their utmost Endeavours to raise a just *Spirit of Resentment* against the *Spaniards*, and give the whole Credit of taking

Porto Bello to those, who have constantly oppos'd a *War*, after a long Series of the most provoking Indignities, till the general *Voice* of the *Nation* in a Manner forc'd them into it. Nay, it is well known, that *one Person* openly oppos'd it to the very last, and when it was carried against him with a very high Hand, he privately sneer'd, and ridicul'd it in such decent Terms as these.—*Well, very well!* 'Tis none of my *War*, but my *Lord*

C—s.—Common Sense therefore ought to have instructed his *Mercenaries* to be silent at least, upon this Head. Let them give their *Patron* all the *Merit* of our late *tedious Negotiations*, and *pacifick Measures*, which I confess is his just Due; but it is *A mere Banter* to ascribe to him the *Successes* of a *War*, which he obstructed as long as he could. If the *War* had prov'd unfortunate, we know at *whose Door* it would have been laid; but since it hath hitherto been so gloriously successful, by the wise *Conduct* of our *Officers*, and the *Bravery* of our *Seamen*, the *Merit* of it immediately devolves to *him* and *his Creatures*.

C Who can help smiling to see this *Writer* foretelling, “ That the *Greatness* of this *Action* will be extenuated by the *Country Party*; Doubts may be made, whether more might not have been done; and, in short, every Thing will be said, or written, which can have a *Tendency* to lessen the general *Joy*, and to abate that just and universal *Satisfaction*, which ought to be express'd on this *Occasion*.”

D To these judicious Predictions, which are not yet fulfill'd, I shall only reply, by asking two or three short Questions.—To *which Party* was the *War* itself principally owing?—*Which* was the most strenuous for an *Address* of *Congratulation* to his *Majesty*, upon this *Occasion*?—And lastly, who endeavour'd to *extenuate the Greatness of the Action*, by struggling to get the most material Words left out of the *Address*, viz. *with six SHIPS OF WAR ONLY*?

E When *these Writers* are pinch'd in an *Argument*, which is commonly their *Cafe*, they immediately turn their *Tails*, and endeavour to annoy us with *Stink-pots*.—This puts me in mind of a *Passage* in *Dampier's Voyages*, which is exactly applicable to the *Gazetteers*.

The *Author* tells us, “ that there is, in one Part of the *West-Indies*, a little *Creature* with a *busby Tail*, called an *Huffer*, because when he lets Sight of you, he'll stand vapouring, and patting with his *Fore-feet* upon the *Ground*, tho' he hath no Manner of *Defence* for himself but with his *Breech*; for upon your approaching near him, he turns about his *Backside*, and squirts at you, which is accompanied with the most abominable *Stink* in the *World*.”

Common Sense, March 29. № 165.

ATHE Author here takes Notice of a Pamphlet, entitled, *Britain's Mistakes in the Commencement and Conduct of the present War*. Where 'tis observed, that, before we began to make Reprisals, Advice should have been sent to all our Colonies, for no Ships to venture out without Convoy: For Want of which Advice, several of our Ships fell into the Hands of the Spanish Privateers upon their own Coasts; and some went into their very Ports.

Next, our Ships of War in America should not have shewn themselves before the Spanish Ports, till they went to do some effectual Business; for by looking into their Ports, as was done by our Commodore, and picking up a few small Craft, they alarmed all America, hindered the Spaniards from loading, and sending out their Ships of Value, and served their Purpose as well, as if they had received Orders from Spain, not to venture to Sea.

By the first we gave the Spaniards an Opportunity of making Advantage of the War against us, and by the last we disappointed ourselves of making the proper Advantage of it against them.

This Writer afterwards observes, that, by what has happened in relation to Admiral Vernon's taking *Porto Bello*, one would be tempted to think that the Spaniards had trusted their whole Safety to our ill Conduct. — To see a Place of that Importance with scarce any Garrison to defend it, the Place where they usually load their Treasure, by the taking of which our People, if they had had any Soldiers, might have marched to *Panama* without any Thing to interrupt them; the Place before which an Admiral with 24 stout Men of War lay, till so many thousand brave Seamen miserably perish'd by the Contagion of the Air, that scarce enough were left alive to bring away the Ships, and the gallant Admiral died of a broken Heart, — to see it taken with the Loss of three or four Men, and by six Ships only; tho' a great Man asserted, with his usual Modesty and Knowledge of Affairs, that it was impregnable; must not all the World turn their Eyes upon one Man, and ask him, what we have been doing for 20 Years past, that we should suffer so many Losses and Indignities from so weak an Enemy, whom we might have brought to Reason, without putting the Nation to any Charge worth mentioning?

GThe *Craftsman* of April 5. contains some Observations on a Book written by a Frenchman, entitled, *Political Reflexions upon the Finances and Commerce of France*. Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Design is to expose the ridiculous Pretensions of this French Writer to the Honour

of the Flag in the *British Seas*. But as his Quotations from this Piece are much the same with those he made in a former Paper, (which see in our *Magazine*, Vol. VIII. p. 654, &c.) we shall not repeat them here.

Common Sense, April 5. № 166.

The admirable STATE ELIXIR.

SIR,

BEING ambitious of a Place in your Paper, I was long in Doubt with myself, whether I should begin with Matter of Instruction, or Matter of Amusement. There are some Objections to be made to both; grave Subjects, tho' of never so important a Nature, weary the Mind, and render the Blood melancholy, with a little more than ordinary Application. On the other Side, mere Amusement is not an Employment worthy of a Man of Sense: I therefore resolved to mix one with the other, and so make up a Composition that might please all Palates.

CIn those fine Climates which are blessed with a warmer Sun, and a more pure and thin Air, as well as among the happy few who are successful, powerful, and prosperous in the World, the *Serious* ought to be applied; because such Persons are very apt to be defective in Point of Reflection. It is for this Reason, I presume, that a Minister in a certain Country, who is arrived almost to the Years, as well as to the Wisdom of *Nefor*, hath in no one Thing demonstrated his superior Genius more, than in correcting the volatile and gay Humour of his Countrymen, by presenting to them serious Objects of the greatest Importance to their Safety; such as Schemes for the encouraging Trade and Commerce; Treaties to annex considerable Domains to their former Possessions; and a constant Attention to the Errors and Blunders of their Neighbours, in order to make a proper Advantage of them.

FOn the other Side, in a thick and gross Air, that nourishes black and melancholy Thoughts, which are apt to end in that Distemper called the Vapours; or in Countries where all publick Affairs are in an apparent State of Declension; all the Productions of the Press should favour strongly of the Ludicrous and the Gay; even Ridicule should be heightened as bad Measures increase, or as the People become more sensible of them: Consummate Knowledge, and Calamities irretrievable, claim the strongest and most engaging Amusements. Hence it is, I presume, that in some Nations, political Comedy hath not been thought of Force sufficient; the lowest Farces have therefore been exhibited to the Publick, and the most ridiculous *Zani's* employed to be the principal Actors in them.

While

While some Pretenders to Science write Prescriptions, which only serve to agitate and inflame, there is a certain State *Hippocrates* in the World, who, putting into one Scale of that golden Balance, where with so nice and judicious Hand he has been used to weigh the Strength and Interest of Kingdoms and Empires, a certain Quantity of that Spleen and Knowledge, with which his enlightened, tho' foggy Climate, is apt to be oppressed, and placing in the other Scale a certain Quantity of Ingredients very proper for making a Kind of *Politico-Ridiculum*, has composed an Elixir so peculiarly adapted to the Genius of his own Country, as not to be endured by any other Nation under the Sun; so true is that old and homely Saying, *That what is one Man's Meat, is another Man's Poison.*

It is owing to the constant Use of this Elixir, that all the publick Transactions of that Nation are become the most comical Things in the World; so very comical, that even in the gloomy Month of November, when Foreigners have satirically observed, that the *English* begin to hang and drown themselves, the most penitive and melancholy Persons in that Country don't only find a harmless Amusement, but even Diversion in some publick Affairs.

This great *Aesculapius* himself often clears up the cloudy Brow of Business with a Kind of boisterous Mirth, and frightens away Care with a certain Noife, which, among merry Rusticks, is known by the Name of the Horse-laugh; his Temper giving Colour and Complexion to Things, just as his Counsels give them Strength and Activity.

Nor does his Regard for the Health and Constitution of his dear Country confine itself within narrow Limits, but extends to Instances of all Kinds and Natures. Travellers lately arrived from that Country tell us, that he hath prevented many scrophulous Disorders, by advising an excessive Tax to be laid upon Salt; frequent Drunkenness, as well as Fevers, by abolishing a certain Law, which brought the People of every Province together, once in three Years, to agree amongst themselves, whom they thought the honestest Man in the Province; broken Shins, and black Eyes, by advising an Edict to be published, that no more than five or six Men should meet to be merry together at a Time.

As to Gout, Stone, Rheumatism, and all those vicious Humours which are the Effect of an over florid Health, and too abundant Feeding, there is not a Doctor in the World to be compared to him; by strong Evacuations, and by a constant Course of bleeding and purging the Body politick, he hath so intirely eradicated these Distempers, that, for several Years past, there hath not been a Complaint of any Disorder proceeding from Repletion.

He had also an excellent Receipt to prevent the bad Effects which might be occasion'd by Surfeits of Wine and Tobacco, and several other Things; but I don't hear what became of it.

A It must be no small Pleasure for the People in the Country where this great Man hath set up his Stage, and practises with such an extraordinary Reputation, to see all Ranks and Degrees of Men put into Motion by the Force and Efficacy of his Elixir:—To see Heroes cutting Figures at Reviews,—Ministers cutting out new Places for their Friends at home,—Negotiators cutting out Provinces for their Enemies abroad,—the rest of the People cut out of their Estates,—and fine Advantages cut out for all *Europe* besides,—all by the Operation of his Medicine:—Who can see this without crying out, with the Poet,

— *ridiculum acri
Fortius & melius magnas plerunque facat res!*

C a Maxim as useful to Statesmen as Satyrs, tho' never known till brought over with innumerable other Rarities from *Terra incognita*, by this great *Columbus*, who hath discover'd a new World in Politicks, which is a dire Antipodes to the old.

D Nor shall I stick to affirm, that the sage Minister whom I have distinguish'd by the Name of *Nefor*, took some Hints from the latter; that he never would have been so successful in Affairs had he not been instructed by the pleasant Schemes, Treaties, and Negotiations, &c. of this new *Columbus*;—*faciat inventis addere.*

E Would he, for Example, ever have thought of the Acquisition of *Lorrain*, if the *semper Augustus* had not been deserted by his ancient Allies? Would he ever have—But I shall break off, tho' I have a thousand Things to add, to hasten to a Fable which, as it contains no abstruse Meaning either political or moral, is a proper Conclusion for this Discourse.

The SPIDERS. A FABLE.

F **T**WAS in a lofty Gothick hall,
An old and venerable place;
Entrench'd secure within the wall,
Dwelt the laborious spider-race;
O'er whom with arrogance and pride
A bloated chieftain did preside.

G He with fair shew and subtle parts,
Unbounded empire had obtain'd;
And with the same ungracious arts,
In virtue's spite his pow'r maintain'd;
While some a private interest sway'd,
And others were by these betray'd.

Strange tales are forg'd, prepost'rous lies,
Fit coinage for a faithless court,
Of armies of invading flies,
That from some foreign clime resort;

And

And all are summon'd to oppose,
With real force, these fabl'd foes.

Or sooth'd with hope, or urg'd by dread,
The people toil with ceaseless pains;

To guard the realm thick webs are spread,
While ev'ry web their vitals drains;
Till weak, exhausted, and beset,
The fools are caught in their own net.

MORAL.

While jaundic'd faction misapplies,
To Spanish *don's* our *British flies*;
Our bloated spider to sir *B*—,
His arts to pensions, bribe, or job;
Or from our cobweb wou'd convey
Strange fears of armies kept in pay;
Let ev'ry loyal reader know,
This happen'd many years ago.

The *Craftsman* of the 12th gives us a Conversation between Mr. *John Tar*, Mariner, (suppos'd to have arrived with Capt. *Renton* from the *West-Indies*) and Mr. *Thomas Lobster*, a Foot-Soldier, concerning the taking of *Porto Bello*. *Common Sense* of the 12th has more Extracts from *Britain's Mistakes*, &c. But as a great deal has been already said on these Subjects, we shall omit them here, for the Sake of a greater Variety: Only we shall give our Readers one Paragraph from the last mentioned Paper.

AS to the present War, (says Mr. *Common Sense*) I believe, our Author thinks it should have been begun as soon as it was resolv'd upon, which, no Doubt, might be done against so weak an Enemy; he supposes it was resolv'd upon early in the Summer: His Words are to this Effect: "Soon after the Beginning of June ten Regiments were brought from *Ireland*, for what Purpose I cannot comprehend; a hot Press for Seamen was begun; an Embargo laid upon our Trade; Proclamations publish'd for encouraging Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service; Orders issued for making a very large Addition to our Land Forces; the Right Hon. *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; his Lady, and Family sent upon an extraordinary Embassy to *Holland*, and as great Noise made thro' the whole Nation, as if we had been upon the Brink of being invaded by a new *Spanish Armada*, or of entering upon one of the most dangerous, and desperate Wars this Nation was ever engag'd in. These alarming Preparations we should have had no Occasion for, if we had begun to prepare about the End of *March*; and considering what hath since happen'd, I can see no Effect they have had, but that of distressing our Trade, preventing the usual Supply of Coals for the City of *London*, which hath this Winter been most severely felt, abusing our own People, and giving Warning to our Enemies to take Care of themselves, which they

did in the most effectual Manner they could, by sending eight or ten Advice Boats one after another, which they were permitted to do without Interruption, to their *Affugus* Ships, then upon their Return from *America*, to steer the most proper Course for avoiding falling into the Hands of our Squadron."

A We insert the following, as a useful and necessary Caution to great Numbers of People at this Time.

Universal Spectator, April 12. N° 601.

Mr. Stonecastle, London, April 1.

B **A** I am assur'd they are calculated for the *Instruction* of your Readers, as well as their *Amusement*, I have thought proper to send you this short Letter on *myself*, that you might make it useful to others.

I am a *Tradesman* in this City, near fifty Years of Age, who have had very considerable Dealings, and, according to the common Expression, *have seen a great deal of the World*. From being so long concern'd in Trade without having met with any very considerable Losses, it might be imagin'd, that I was in very good Circumstances; but, alas! it is the very Reverse: About 3 Weeks ago I became a *Bankrupt*, nor shall I be able to pay my Creditors above 5s. in the Pound. Since my Affairs have been in this fatal Extremity, I have made a strict Scrutiny into my Conduct, and must impartially confess my present Misfortunes are in every Particular occasioned by my own *Follies* and *Indiscretion*; therefore, tho' I have term'd them *Misfortunes*, I look upon them only as the certain consequential *Punishments* of *Mismanagement* in *myself*.

It would be needless to give you the History of all my *Mis-conduct*; let it be sufficient to say, that the too *fashionable Luxury* of the Age carried me imperceptibly into too expensive a Way of living: *Gaiety* introduced a *Neglect* of *Business*; a *Decay* of *Business* brought on a *wilful Neglect* to balance my Books; and from that, in a mad Kind of Folly and Despair, I plung'd on in my old Way, knowing that I must soon become a *Bankrupt*, yet by every Shift and Artifice driving the *evil Day* as far off as possible.

This Conduct must, to any thinking Man, seem to be the Proceeding of a *Madman*; it was so: But as mad as my Conduct was, I am too sensible there are very large Numbers of *Tradesmen* in this City, who are ruin'd by the same *Frenzy*: Without Doubt there are unavoidable *Misfortunes* in *Trade*, and in private Family Affairs, which no human Care or Foresight can prevent, and the most *industrious Trader* and most *prudent Man* may become *Bankrupts*: But I am afraid the major Part of the Names, which we see in the *Gazette*,

scattered, of Men who have failed in the World, are not inserted there from the unavoidable Misfortunes of Life, but from their own Imprudence and Mis-conduct.

What I would inculcate, Mr. Stonecastle, from this Representation of my own Case is, that what is call'd Fortune is not in Reality so great an Enemy to Mankind as they are to themselves; and the Generality of those People, who, compassionateing themselves, cry, they have been unfortunate, should with more Sincerity say, as I do, that they have been Fools.

TOM TRUECASE.

Craftsman, April 19. N^o 720.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE late Lord Moleworth observes, that there are no Seditions, Mutinies, or *Libels* against the Government in Denmark.—The Reason is very plain; for there is no such Thing as Liberty in Denmark; it having been long ago given up by the Corruption and Degeneracy of the Nobility, and the Resentment of the Commons.

This, I suppose, is the ultimate Design of the ministerial *Writers* and their *Patron*, who are perpetually crying out against *Sedition*, *Faction*, and *Libelling*; and therefore I have been long considering of a *Project*, which I think is now almost brought to Maturity, and I hope will answer their Intentions. I must confess I stole the whole Plan of it from *Macchiavel's Prince*; which I shall apply to a *Minister*, and therefore design to pursue the same Method, of which the following is a Specimen.

The MINISTER.

CHAP. I. Of the different Sorts of Ministers.

AS Kings are called *Gods* in Holy Writ, and every where acknowledged to be *God's Vice-gerents*; so a *Minister* is certainly the Vice-gerent of a *King*, and superior to all the rest of the *People*. But of these there are several Sorts.

The greatest *Minister* of all is the *Grand Vizier* in *Turkey*, who is actually a *Vice-Roy*, or a *Prince* himself, tho' he often falls a Sacrifice to the *People*.

The next are those, who are called *Prime-Ministers* in all the arbitrary Courts of Europe; such as *France*, *Spain*, and others.

In *free Governments*, or *mixt Monarchies*, the Name of a *Prime-Minister* was formerly unknown; for the *Administration* always used to be divided into different Branches, and every *Minister* was answerable only for the Business transacted in his own Department; but since some *free Countries* have lately admitted a *Prime-Minister* to be established and

prevail amongst them, as a wholesome Restraint upon the *People*, I will give my best Advice by what Means it may be done.

CHAP. II. How a Minister may make himself absolute in a free Government.

He, who designs to make such an Attempt, ought to consider, that it is not in the Power of the *Prince* to support him in it, till the *Spirits* of the *People* are in a good Measure subdued, and their *Purses* drain'd. He must therefore endeavour to form a *Party* strong enough to oppose them, by a proper Distribution of *Titles*, *Honours*, *Places*, *Pensions*, and other *Gratuities*.

CHAP. III. Of Armies.

As such a Scheme may probably meet with great Opposition at first, it will be necessary to keep up a large Body of *regular Forces*, under the Command, and at the Disposal of the *Minister*, in order to quell *mutinous Spirits*. This may be easily done, under various and plausible Pretexts; such as the Apprehension of *foreign Invasions*, *domestick Insurrections*, *popular Discontents*, *secret Plots*, or *publick Expeditions*.

CHAP. IV. Of Peace and War.

But as it is the Interest of such a *Minister* to keep up a *numerous Standing Army*, for his own Protection and Support, it follows of Consequence, that he ought by all Means to avoid a *War*, either by *Sea* or *Land*, lest it should prove successful, and turn the Eyes of the *People* from him to those, whose Conduct and Bravery should do their Country any eminent Service and Honour.—No, such a *Minister*, when he hath securely guarded himself at home with a sufficient Number of *Creatures* and *Dependents*, both *civil* and *military*, his next Business is to amuse the *People*, and lull them asleep with *Negotiations* abroad, which he may diversify by whatever Names he pleases; such as *Preliminaries*, *Pacifications*, *Plans of a Pacification*, *Conventions*, or even the most *solemn Treaties of Peace*, just as it suits his own private Interest and the particular Circumstances of the Times; and if any *Malecontents* should have the *Presumption* to complain of his Conduct, let him stop their Mouths with that excellent Maxim, *Pax Bello postor* amongst the ancient *Heathens*, or that divine *Beatitude*, *Blessed are the Peace-makers!*

CHAP. V. How Libellers ought to be used.

But if all these Precautions and Regulations should be found insufficient to restrain *factious Tongues*, and *seditionous Pens*, without openly employing a *military Force*, (which ought to be avoided as much as possible) let the *Minister* take a Band of *mercenary Writers* into his Pay, in order to combat his *Adversaries* at

at their own Weapons; and if they should happen to be defeated, let him hire another mercenary Band to worry them in Form of Law. This is no hard Matter in any Country, which abounds with Lawyers, penal Laws, fanch Witnesses, and chosen Juries; for I am speaking only of free Countries, where Juries, of some Kind or other, are commonly allowed; but if turbulent and seditious Tradesmen should prove unruly and disobedient, let the Court, or the Court-Officers nominate such Persons, as they think most fit for their Purpose.

CHAP. VI. Of Plots, Rebellions, and Assassinations.

As no Stone must be left unturn'd, to raise up and support such a powerful Atlas of the State as I have been recommending; I shall in the next Place observe that a Plot, a Rebellion, or an Assassination, hath often proved of great Use, whether true or false; for it is always in the Power of a wicked and arbitrary Minister to foment a real Plot, or Rebellion, by oppressing the People; or to trump up a sham one, and prove it too, by Subornation, and bired Witnesses, provided he was never guilty of the same Practices before; for it is an old Observation, that few Ministers have Skill enough to forge above one Plot, or Credit enough to cram it down the Throats of the People.

CHAP. VII. Of Senates, or Assemblies of the People.

In free Countries, where the collective Body of the People have a Right to chuse Representatives, no Pains or Costs ought to be spared to secure a Majority of them in the Minister's Interest and Service, by Places, Pensions, and Bounties; for it is much easier to govern a People, who fancy themselves free, by the Name and outward Appearance of a Senate, than by an open Exercise of arbitrary Power. This is demonstrable from the Roman History; for *Tiberius*, and his infamous Minister *Sejanus*, as well as the succeeding Emperors, kept up the Form of a Senate, and the Names of their antient Magistrates, in order to sanctify their own Measures, and preserve the Appearance of their old Constitution, F which this *Mock-Senate*, and these *Mock-Magistrates* were continued only to destroy.

CHAP. VIII. How Governments, which were formerly free, and afterwards enslaved, may be kept in Subjection.

Machiavel observes to his Prince, " that there are but three Ways of governing a conquer'd People, who have been accustom'd to Liberty, and liv'd under their own Laws. The first is, utterly to ruin them. The second is, to live personally among them. The third is, contenting himself with a Pension from them, to

permit them to enjoy their old Privileges and Laws; erecting a Kind of Council of State, to consist of a Few, which may have a Care of his Interest, and keep the People in Obedience; which Council being set up by him, and knowing that it subsists by his Favour and Authority, will not omit any Thing, that may propagate and enlarge them."—In another Place, speaking of mix'd Principalities, he says, " that Men are either to be flatter'd and indulg'd, or utterly destroy'd; because, for small Offences, they do usually revenge themselves; but, for great ones, they cannot; so that Injury is to be done in such a Manner, as not to fear any Revenge."—This is true *Machiavelian Policy*, and hath been pretty well imitated by some of our northern Statesmen, to their great Advantage; for as the *Papish Inquisitors* say, *Turn or burn*; so a Protestant Inquisitor ought to say, *Follow me, or starve and be d—n'd*.

CHAP. IX. The dernier Report of an arbitrary Minister in a free Country.

C Tho' I am against all sanguinary Measures, as long as *Lenitiveness* will prevail; yet, in Cases of Necessity, a Minister, as well as a King, must have Recourse to his *Ratio ultima*, and plant his Cannon against all Opposers, without giving Quarter to any.—But this is so nice a Point, that I have not Time to explain it at present.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

§. To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Dear Caleb,

I Wonder that you have not yet taken Notice of a late Article in one or more of the Daily Papers; wherein it is said that his *Prussian Majesty* hath order'd all his Officers, both civil and military, to give in a true Account of their Salaries and Perquisites, under Pain of being dismiss'd from his Service.

I thought this Paragraph would have given you an Opportunity of being a little arch; for you might have observ'd, that if another Court had issud the same Orders, and seen them punctually executed, very great Secrets might have been brought to Light, and that the Perquisites of several Offices in this Kingdom, if the whole Truth were known, amount to 20 Times more than the *visible Salaries*; or else how should they raise such vast Estates, and build sumptuous Palaces?

Yours, BOB SHORT.

Daily Gazetteer. N° 1505.

G M R. Freeman acknowledges, that the Malecontents very justly commend Cardinal *Fleuri*, but condemns them for doing this in Prejudice of another great Minister, whom

whom he would have to be equal to, if not to excel the former. In order to this, he mentions several Circumstances in the Cardinal's Character, and among the rest his *Love of Peace*: A Circumstance (says Freeman) that hath done him much Honour, and his Country much Good. It is the national Defect of the French, that they are inconstant in their Tempers, and have a natural Prowess to War. This was the Foible of Lewis XIV. who, tho' he was successful in all his Wars, but the last, yet weaken'd and impoverish'd his People to such a Degree, not only in respect to their Wealth, but Numbers, that within a small Space after the Peace at Utrecht, a noble Duke asserted, that in passing thro' France he had rid many Miles without meeting a Man capable of bearing Arms. Upon his Death-bed that Monarch confessed this Error of his, looking, as he justly might, on such a Waste of People, not only as a Fault in Politicks, but as a grievous Sin against God. Of this he gave the King who now reigns a Caution, couch'd in the strongest Terms; and inasmuch as he was then a very Child, this Caution must be understood as given to his Ministers. How well the Cardinal hath observ'd this Lesson, how different his Conduct hath been from that of his Predecessors Richelieu and Mazarin, and how much more it hath contributed to the Good of France, is too well known for me to insist on. We are every Day told, that his Love of Peace hath made France truly formidable; and, which is singular, we are told this by the very People who assert, that the Love of Peace made Britain contemptible.

Common Sense, April 19. No 168.

I LOOK upon the Pamphlet, entitled, *The State of the Rise and Progress of our Disputes with Spain*, as an Abridgment of the History of our Negotiations with that Court for several Years past. It is a curious, tho' not a very pleasing Piece of History to an English Reader;—no true Briton can, without Mortification, behold the Figure his Country has made thro' the tedious Course of this disagreeable Negotiation.—To see a Man who represented the most powerful maritime Nation in the Universe, soliciting the Ministers of that which is the weakest, Year after Year, to give Orders that no barbarous Methods might be used by the Captors, of clandestinely putting Spanish Money, or Spanish Goods on board of British Ships, or to cajole the Crew to give false Evidence against their Captains, in order to condemn the Ships as Prizes, was, says my Author, to be so unhappily ignorant, as to insist upon what ought never to have been demanded.—The seizing of the Ships is not complain'd of; it is only the Irregularity in the Method of doing

it, and the false Evidence, that is objected to.

My Author observes farther, that the Spaniards did not deny but that the Custom of putting Spanish Money or Goods on board English Vessels, or cajoling the Crew to give false Evidence against their Captain, ought to be redressed, and our M— demanded no more; this he insisted upon, and this is what my Author calls being so unhappily ignorant, as to insist upon what ought never to have been demanded.

After some more Years Negotiation, Mr. K— writes Word, that he talk'd in a serious Manner to M. Patinbo (as if he had been but in Jeff hitherto) and has procured more effectual Orders than he had been able to procure before. What were these Orders? A Cedula from the King of Spain to his Governors in America, by which they are commanded not to abuse or molest the English, or any of their Ships sailing in those Seas, so long as they keep in their proper Distances, and are not concern'd in any illicit Trade; so that by his being serious he obtains an Order, by the Acceptance of which the Right of stopping and visiting Ships was, in the Opinion of the Spaniards, acknowledged in its full Force.

One cannot think of the Negotiations of some M—s without being put in Mind of one of those Horses at the Academy called Soutewares, which is set to curvet and prance till it is tired, and when it has done, has not stirred one Inch from the Place, where it began.

There is not one Man in Great Britain that knows any Thing of the Condition of the Spanish Settlements in America, but has been of Opinion, that any one of those unactive Squadrons, which have cost the Nation so much Money, might have settled this Point intirely to our Satisfaction long ago: All (I say) that were acquainted with the Affairs of Spain knew this from the Beginning; but Admiral Vernon hath explained that Matter beyond Doubt even to the Vulgar; nay, to those that are below the Vulgar, to the very Placemen. It is plain we might have Masters of the Island of Cuba, or of any other Place we thought fit; we might have hinder'd all America from receiving any Goods from Old Spain, and have supplied them with the Manufactures of Great Britain by Sloops from Jamaica, under the Protection of our Men of War. It is well known, the People would be glad to trade with us; they might do it upon Terms of much greater Advantage to themselves, by buying cheaper, than they can in the ordinary Way by the Flota or the Gal'rons from Cadiz, and without paying any Indulto or Duty to the King; which most soon have brought the Court of Spain to our own Terms.

The rest of the Essays in our next.

The

The MORNING-STAR. A RHAPSODY. Occasioned by the glorious Beginning of the WAR.

'Tis well — at length thy genius, O my country, — perceives returning greatness, As nature feels the spring. Lightly she bounds, And shakes dishonour like a burden from her, Once more Imperial, awful, and herself.

ROWE.

HARK! o'er the flood what shouts triumphant roll! 'Tis Vernon's voice, and rapture to my soul! Hence, idle themes, 'tis conquest claims the page, The first-born conquest of a slothful age — I see, I see, thro' twice a ten years night, New rays of glory burst like morning light! Smit with the beam, imagination glows, Past scenes and future in the now she shows; And while, entrapt, I grasp the sounding shell, The vision rises, and the numbers swell.

Vernon their chief, and heav'n their guardian guide, Six British vessels plough the distant tide; Serene and constant, tho' the winds oppose, The helm still steers 'em, and the canvas flows.

Thus slowly dreadful, justice moves to deal A partial evil for the publick weal; And see! those turrets glitter from the shore, Henceforth for ever doom'd to thine no more. The destin'd port * salutes the distant eye, Now last salutes it, for destruction's nigh.

The foes, presumptuous from our long delay, [survey; With doubt and scorn th' approach of fate Proudly they smile, pre-eminent in might, And rage and hatred prompt 'em to the fight, For slaughter thirsty, burning to destroy, In war (regardless of its end) they joy.

But unimpassion'd, and serenely brave, To bles us we punish, and destroy to save, Approving war but as the means to know The softer blessings of the life below; As drugs are valu'd, tho' their taste be ill, For the kind ends their healing pow'rs fulfil. True valour hence matures and perfect springs, Here genuine glory waves her golden wings, Encreas'd with danger, aiming still to give Those joys that make it worth our while to live;

And failing here, not careful to retain A life of flav'ry, the severest pain.

And see, the warm engagement scarce begun,

The vaunting coward quits the harmless gun — His haughty guilt, by danger turn'd to fear, Sees endless horrors, led by death, draw near;

These haunt the wretch, unable to deny, The villain's keenest curse is villany. Despair now seizes all the dastard race, For courage flies the cruel and the base. But what are those! are those of human kind, Whom neither man's, nor nature's laws can bind?

See from two guardian vessels they descend, The town to plunder, which they should defend!

Hail! great Iberia — these thy children own, For deeds like these, are theirs and theirs alone. To Vandals Vandals, Turks to Turks are true, Spight of thy tortures, so is Jew to Jew: To their own kind, fierce tenants of the wild, Bears, panthers, lions, are by nature mild: Hell tho' to heav'n, and heav'n's just laws, a foe,

Yet fiend to fiend firm concord binds below. 'Tis thy prerogative for none to feel, To prize nor father's, friend's, nor country's weal.

And (see the wisdom of the ruling God) 'Tis hence the Spaniard is the Spaniard's rod.

Far other motives guide their gen'rous foes, With social love their very vengeance glows; Conscious of virtue, ardent in the fight, See ev'ry eye with hope of conquest bright; As more than mortal, careless of the blow, Mild as an infant to the prostrate foe.

See vict'ry smiling crown the righteous cause, And own her Britons with a hoarse applause. See those proud tow'rs, which late our arms defy'd,

Now mount in air, and now in smoak subside, With Spain's own fires from their fixt basis torn,

One ruin, all abandon'd and forlorn. Abject and vile, behold the vanquish'd crew. Despair of mercy, which they never knew, (Their malice impotent) with curses wait From injur'd men retaliating fate.

The gen'rous victor scorns th' ignoble thought, And, all a Briton, triumphs as he fought; Yet more his virtues, than his arms, disgrace The vile Barbarians of the Christian race:

Stranger alike to cruelty and fear, He frees his captives, nor detains one esr: Ev'n the fell wretch, in peaceful blood imbru'd, Who basely maim'd the man he first subdu'd, Ev'n he escapes, to bear our faith to fame, And works our glory, as he wrought our shame;

Our promise sure, where'er he lives, he shows To the worst zealots, and the basest foes. Smit with superior virtue's dazzling blaze, Their eyes grow dim, and fail 'em as they gaze;

Astonish'd only, not to virtue won, They feel, yet curse our bounty, as they runs Thus warm'd, thus living on the genial ray, The birds of night detest the beams of day.

—With diff'ring looks, behold a joyful train *
Spring to new freedom, and forget the chain.
With joy fraternal bounds my kindred soul,
That slaves no more shall Britain's sons controul:

Thy sons, O freedom, to thy arms restor'd,
With all their treasures, by thy Vernon's sword:

Where Britons conquer, all thy blessings thine,
And slav'ry's sons are by adoption thine.

When goodness rules, there's musick in alarms, [charms ;
And war, smiles conscious of her utmost
Then heav'n approves the hero in the fight,
And calls the merciful destruction right :
This, O my country, consecrates thy name,
And wreaths thy legions with immortal fame ;
Glorious they move, the injur'd to redress,
Stop at that bound, nor touch th' accurst excels :
No wild ambition waves the sword on high,
No vengeance strikes the vanquish'd as they fly. [meant,

To give mankind what, sure, for all was
Untroubled safety, parent of content,
We curb, we punish, those who vice employ
Heav'n's best good gifts to lessen or destroy :
For this our fleets old ocean, pleas'd, receives ;
For this good Philip's royal mistrels grieves ;
For this her subjects are foredoom'd to feel
The scourge of heav'n in Britain's spurning
heel.

Thus once I knew, in scenes of private life,
Of the same nature, an inferior strife :
From courts remote, there liv'd a rural swain,
For kind good nature lov'd of all the plain ;
Stranger to learning, policy, and wit,
Who never read but what dame Nature writ :
Hard by him too ('tis thought, escap'd from
clog)

Of manners vile, there liv'd a mongrel dog.
This beast presum'd (more impudent than bold)
In open day, to vex the peaceful fold ;
'Twas judg'd from thence, if curs our lan-
guage knew,

He'd have pretended title so to do :
But that apart ; the swain we nam'd before,
Had catch'd him oft, and beat him o'er and
o'er,

Not out of hatred to the curr, besire,
But of his mere good will, in hopes to cure :
That ineffectual, for the end design'd,
Besides the bastin, he was next confin'd ;
And to this hour, I'm told, the careful swain
Keeps him alive, within two yards of chain,
And fears (all methods of amendment past)
The brute, unmended, must be hang'd at last.

Look out, the world in very deed unfolds,
What this plain simile in figure hold—

Inthron'd a female fiery form † I see,
To guilt a slave, and raging at the free ;
See, like her parent †, drunk with blood she
nods, [gods ?
And funk to brute, assumes the pow'r of

Madly she raves, and claims the wat'ry world,
While round at random airy threats are
hurl'd ;

She swells—she bursts—the bubble is no more,
All the false glitter at one glance is o'er ;
She feels her fancy'd pow'r at once subside,
And shame and anguish scourge defeated pride,
So fleets a vision from the waking eye,
And anxious mem'ry prompts the uieles high ;
The dear delusion is pursu'd in vain,
The flying pleasures bid the grief remain.

Methinks, through future time I mark,
sedate,

Her gloomy period, the dark point of fate ;
To realms, I trace her, from the pompous bed,
Where silent darkness close enfolds the dead—
But ah ! what light, thus streaming thro' the
gloom,

Smites the pale marble of the mould'ring tomb
'Tis he, good prince ! who once the sceptre bore
Of western India's violated shore ;
Thy king, O Mexico, who tortur'd dy'd,
To satiate av'rice, cruelty and pride ;
From realms of bliss on missive clouds convey'd,
He thus accosts the new descended shade :
And is it thou, imperial, haughty dame,
Without thy pomp, without thy titled name ?
I greet the monarchs, from thy throne who
fall,

Curse alive, and dying curs'd of all ;
Here fame is silent, here no musick charms,
Nor love of gold, nor love of empire warms ;
Here sinks the wretch, whose scepter was a rod,
In wrath who govern'd, and on justice trod ;
To bliss such rise not, but in vain effay
To reform the interdicted clay ;
Affrighting others, of themselves afraid,
They fit sad vagrants thro' the dreary shade—
Much injur'd Britain was thy scourge on earth,
And dead, new pleasures ripen into birth ;
The world now rests, the song spontaneous
flows,

And lasting glory wreaths thy victor feet—
No more,—the vision darkens on my sight,
Returning glooms confirm the reign of night ;
From the drear scene my genius springs away,
And pleas'd, returning, hails the beams of day ;
Hails the lov'd nation, to whose fame she sing,
Success the cries, success resounded rings.
Uncheck'd, unfainting in the martial strife,
For glorious liberty, the life of life,
Still may my country's arms, as now, succeed,
In word no longer mighty, but in deed. [song ;
With the warm wish, I now conclude the
To future conquests, future strains belong.

Upon Admiral VERNON, who was found at
the Plough, when he was sent for to go upon
the Expedition of PORTO BELLO.

LET Rome, no more, with ostentation, show
Her so long fam'd dictator, from the
plough ;

Great

† The Queen of Spain. † Italy.

Great Britain, rival of the Roman name,
In arts, in elegance, in martial fame,
Can, from the plough, her *Cincinnatus* fellow,
And show a *Vernon*, storming *Porto Bello*.

O! would some god but set her lions free
From warlike peace, and martial pageantry;
Uncag'd, as once in *Anna's* glorious reign,
They soon would break all Europe's threatn'd
chain,

Tame proud *Iberia*, shake the *Gallick* throne,
Give freedom to the world, and keep her own.

On the taking of PORTO BELLO. Written by
the Lord G—— G——me.

Tune, The Sailor's Song.

I.

COME, my lads, with souls befitting,
Let us never be dismay'd;
Let's avenge the wrongs of *Britain*.
And support her *injur'd trade*.

The true spirit of the nation

In our honest hearts we bring,
True, tho' in an humble station,
To our *Country* and our *King*.

II.

Spain no longer shall affume, boys,
The free ocean, as her own;

For the time, *at last*, is come, boys,
We'll their topsails lower down.

Tho' in politicks contesting,
Round and round they were about;

All their ships and manifesting,
With our broadsides we will rout.

III.

Hark! the roaring cannon thunders!
See, my lads, fix ships appear!

Ev'ry Briton acting wonders,
Strikes the southern world with fear.

Porto Bello, fam'd in story,
Now at last submits to fate,

Vernon's courage gains us glory!
And his mercy proves us great!

IV.

On our naval strength depending,
Let us steer *Old England's* course,

When affronted, vengeance sending,
Shew the world *Old England's* force.

Then loud peals of *British* thunder,
Rattling on each hostile shore,

Shall make haughty *dogs* knock under,
Nor shall dare insult us more.

V.

May all *English* lads, like you, boys,
Prove on shore true hearts of gold,

To their *King* and *Country*, true, boys,
And be neither bought nor sold.

Let the *landmen* without *party*,
Act like brethren of the *blood*;

To one cause alone be hearty,
And be *that*, for *Britain's* good.

VI.

Then thro' all the mighty ocean
Th' *English* cross shall honour find,

Far as wave can feel a motion,
Far as flag can move with wind.
Then *insulting monarchs* flewning
More regard, shall humbler be,
This old truth of *Britons* knowing,
As they're *brave*, they will be *free*.

ON FRIENDSHIP.

An Epistle to a FRIEND.

O Friendship, rightly understood,
Thou greatest, chieftest, only good,
Which here to man is giv'n;
Such blessings always from thee flow,
That all who ever felt thee, know
Thy origin's from heaven.

To ev'ry one thou givest peace,
Thou makest strife and malice cease,
Ev'n envy thou canst tame;
Thou mak'st the proud before thee bow,
The miser all his hoard bestow,
The coward merit fame.

Thou givest life to all that live,
Thou givest ease to all that grieve,
All states of thy sweets share;
Without thee life's an empty toy,
But thou mak'st double ev'ry joy,
Dividest ev'ry care.

Captives thou mak'st forget their chain,
The slave his toil, the sick their pain,
The wounded mind its grief;
Thou raisest hope, dispel'st fear,
If there is ought to heal despair,
'Tis thou that giv'st relief.

Thou mak'st all humours to agree,
Parties united are by thee,
Religion don't disjoin;
Didst thou but two like souls inflame,
Whose temper, thoughts, and God's the same,
'Twere happiness divine.

With such alliance us unite,
Let us experience each delight

On mortals thou canst show'r;
Our bliss wou'd then be so compleat,
Kings wou'd for ages quit their state,
T'enjoy it for an hour.

Rather than have thy *David* slain
Thou, *Jonathan*, with brave disdain
Despis'dst thy father's crown;
And thou, *Aleides*, poets tell,
To free thy *Theseus* went'ft to hell,
Nor dreadedst *Pluto's* frown.

Who'd not, *Aeneas*, wish thy fate,
Bear haughty *Juno's* endless hate,
Achates ever by?

Who'd not, *Orestes*, rave like you,
To have a *Pylades* as true
To bless his misery?

Friendship, such wonders spring from thee,
None in thy praise can silent be,
Thou art of ills the cure;

But

But ev'ry good should fate supply,
Were we alone depriv'd of thee,
Who then could life endure?

To Mr. BEARD, upon bearing him sing, at
Hickford's great Room, in David's Lamen-
tation over Saul and Jonathan, an Oratorio,
written by Mr. Lockman, and set to Music
by Mr. Smith.

To hear thee in a sweetly-solemn strain,
Describe fall'n Israel on the crimson'd
plain,
Such wond'rous force the mournful lines re-
ceive, [grieve:
Each sees the bleeding king, and hears him
Sees him, fast flying from the treacherous foe,
(His soul a prey to inexpressive woe ;)
Sees David and his bands, with weeping eye,
Hang o'er his urn, and hears them sadly sigh.
Say, whence this magic that inspires thy
tongue,
To speak each word as tho' a seraph sung!
Let those who think verse loses all its fire,
When tun'd to music's animating lyre,
Suspend their judgment, and their censure
spare, [clare,
Till first they hear thee : — nor till then de-
Had the rash YOUTH *, who gave the fa-
tal wound,
Spoke with thy energy ; the melting sound,
Charming the monarch's mind, had brought
relief ;
Kept back his sword, and sooth'd his piercing
grief.

To Mrs. ARNE, upon bearing her perform in
the Character of Rosalinda, a dramatick
Piece written by Mr. Lockman, and set to
Musick by Mr. Smith. Performed at Hick-
ford's great Room, in Brewer-street.

OFT as we read the royal maid's distress,
And hear of pangs love only can suppress :
When, sick of courts, from proffer'd crowns
she flies ;
And laws restraining, for a subject sighs ;
Compassion gently warms each penive breast,
And Garcia's † wish'd for, to insure her rest.
But when with thy harmonious voice she
pines,
The soul to tenderness at once inclines ;
In all her griefs must strongly bear a part,
So swift the sweet infection thrills the heart.
Th' obdurate breast may boast, in vain, its
feel ;
Pierc'd by thy strains, soft anguish it must feel.
Proceed, sweet warbler, to enchant the age ;
Rise the fam'd rival of th' Italian stage,
Till each fair bosom catch thy fond alarms,
And Rosalind, like Rosamonda charms.

* The Amalekites,
Rosh.

† The Nobleman for whom Rosalinda was supposed to entertain a secret
THE

From a Poem, just publish'd, entitled, The
RUINS of ROME. Being a seasonable Con-
sideration for the present Age.

Disolv'd in ease and soft delights they lie,
Till ev'ry sun annoys, and ev'ry wind
Has chilling force, and ev'ry rain offends ;
For now the frame no more is girt with strength
Masculine, nor in lustiness of heart,
Laughs at the winter storm, and summer beam,
Superior to their rage : enfeebling vice
Withers each nerve, and opens ev'ry pore
To painful feeling : flow'ry bow'rs they seek,
(As aether prompts, as the sick sense approves)
Or cool nymphean grots, or tepid baths
(Taught by the soft Ionians) they, along
The lawny vale, of ev'ry beauteous stone,
Pile in the roseat air with fond expence :
Through silver channels glide the fragrant waves,
And fall on silver beds crystalline down,
Melodious murmuring ; while luxury
Over their naked limbs, with wanton hand,
Sheds roses, odors, sheds unheeded bane.

Swift is the flight of wealth ; unnumber'd
wants,

Brood of voluptuousness, cry out aloud
Necessity, and seek the splendid bribe ;
The citron b'ard ; the bowl embos'd with gems,
And tender foliage, wildly wreath'd around,
Of seeming ivy, by that artful hand,
Corintian Thericles ; whate'er is known
Of rarest acquisition, Tyrian garbs,
Neptunian Albions high testaceous food,
And flavour'd Cbian wines with incense sum'd
To slake patrician thirst : For these their rights
In the vile streets they prostitute to sale ;
Their antient rights, their dignities, their laws,
Their native, glorious freedom — — —

But see along the north the tempest swell
O'er the rough Aps, and darken all their snows !
Sudden, the Gotb and Vandal, dreaded names,
Rush as the breach of waters, overwhelming all
Their domes, their villa's ; down the festive piles,
Down fall their Parian porches, gilded baths,
And roll before the storm in clouds of dust.

Vain end of human strength, of human skill,
Conquest, and triumph, and domain, and pomp,
And ease, and luxury. O luxury,
Bane of elated life, of affluent states,
What dreary change, what ruin is not thine ?
How doth thy bowl intoxicate the mind ?
To the soft entrance of thy rosy cave
How do'st thou lure the fortunate and great,
Dreadful attraction ! while behind thee gapes
Th' unfathomable gulph where Asbur lies
O'erwhelm'd, forgotten ; and high-boasting
Cham ;

And Elam's haughty pomp, and beauteous Greece ;
And the great queen of earth, imperial Rome.

We ask Pardon of our poetical Correspondents,
a great many of whose Pieces are come to hand ;
promising to insert as many as we can in our next,

THE Monthly Chronologer.

The Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, (as promis'd in our last) was as follows :

May it please your Majesty,

W^E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common-Council assembled, beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty on the glorious Success of your Majesty's Fleet in the West-Indies, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Vernon; who with *six Men of War only*, and the Assistance of about 200 Land Forces from *Jamaica*, entered the Port, and took the Town of *Porto Bello*, demolishing and levelling all the Forts and Castles thereto belonging, destroying or bringing away all the Guns and Ordnance with which they were defended; at the same Time treating the Inhabitants with the utmost Humanity, opening their Harbour, and reclaiming from Captivity your Majesty's Subjects in the Service of the *South-Sea Company*, unjustly detained at *Panama*.

The Execution of this important Service, with so small a Force, and with so much Intrepidity, must greatly redound to the Reputation of your Majesty's Arms, and strike a Terror into the Enemy, who will now by Experience be convinced (whatever mistaken Notions they may have formed from this Nation's long Forbearance) that the maritime Power of *Great Britain*, being at length exerted, is able effectually to vindicate the Glory of your Majesty's Crown, revenge the Injuries of your People, and retrieve the Honour of the *British Flag*.

This auspicious Beginning of the War must give your Majesty's faithful Subjects the most reasonable Expectation of obtaining such future Successes, by your Majesty's wise Application of your Forces in the further Prosecution of the same vigorous Measures, as may put your Majesty in Possession of a real and effectual Security for the Navigation and Trade of your People.

We think it in a particular Manner incumbent upon us, as Representatives of the greatest Trading Body in the Nation, to assure your Majesty, that we will chearfully contribute to the utmost of our Abilities, in Support of a War so necessary for the Protection of our long injured Trade, and en-

tered into at the unanimous Desire of your Majesty's Subjects.

The King's Answer.

I thank you for your Congratulation: You have no Reason to doubt, but that in all my Measures, as I have hitherto had, so I shall continue to have, a due Regard to the Honour and Interest of my Crown and Kingdoms, and to the Safety and Protection of all my Subjects.

His Majesty's Answer to the Commons Address, that he would be pleased to give Directions, that such a Number of Ships may be appointed to cruise in proper Stations for the Security and Protection of Trade, as shall be consistent with the Defence and Protection of his Majesty's Dominions, was as follows:

"All possible Care has been taken in carrying on the War against Spain in the most proper and effectual Manner, and at the same Time for protecting the Trade of my Subjects; and you may be assured, that the same Care shall be continued."

March 31st, at Night, there was a magnificent Ball at Sir *Thomas Robinson's* House, *Whiteball*; at which were present the Dukes of *Richmond, Grafton, Bedford, Marlborough, Montague, and Newcastle*; the Earls of *Pembroke, Chesterfield, Essex, Carlisle, Burlington, Albemarle, and Merton*; the Lords *Carteret, Hervey, and Harrington*; Sir *Robert Walpole* and Mr. *Pulteney*; with about 200 of the Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes. There were 30 Couple of Dancers divided into two Sets, and 12 Card Tables. The Company came at 7; at 12 there was a cold Supper, with a fine Desert; and they broke up at 6 the next Morning: During which Time, every Thing was conducted with the greatest Order and Regularity; and the whole Company were highly pleased with the Entertainment.

WEDNESDAY, April 2.

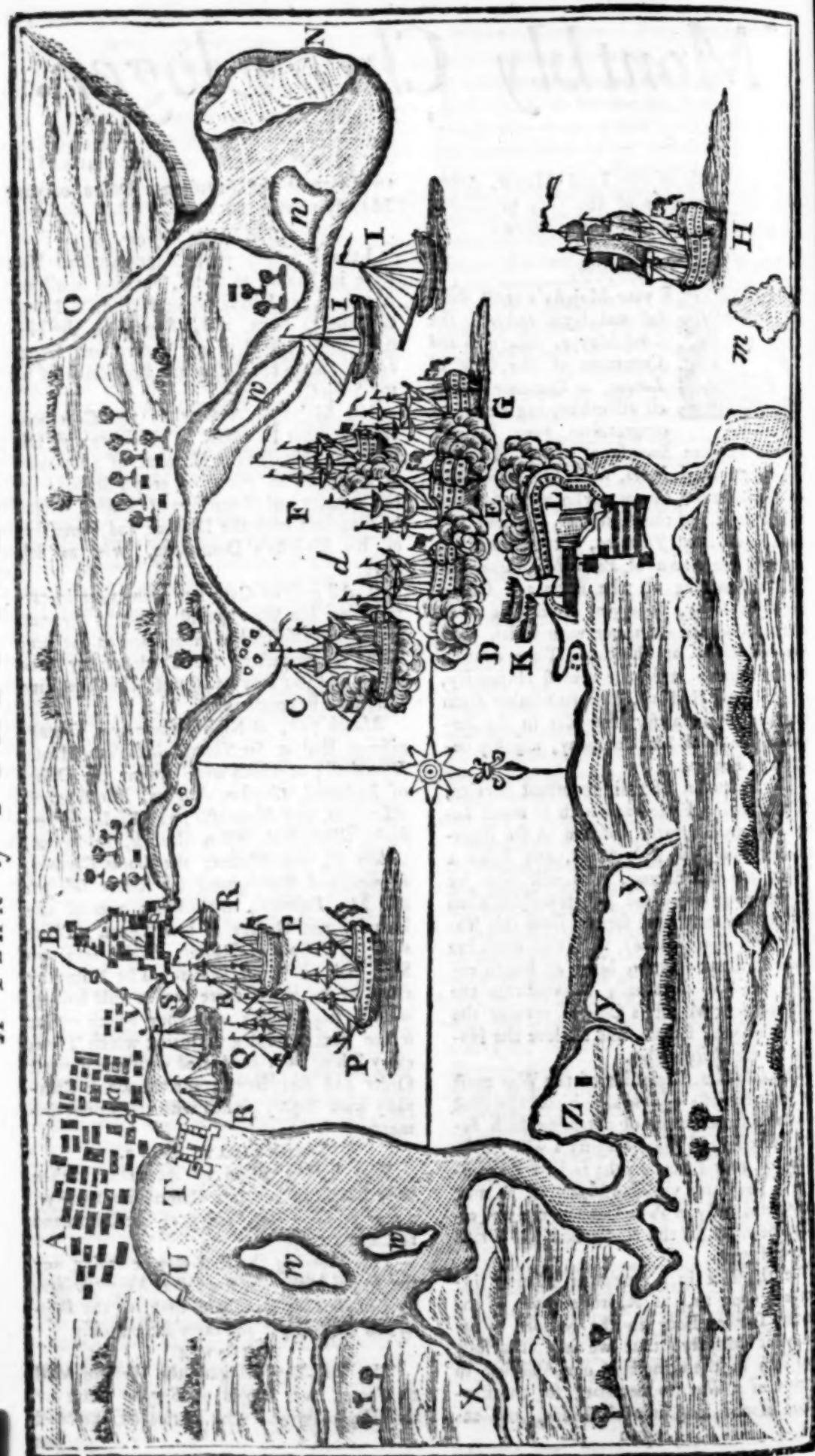
Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordships put into Commission the *Rye*, a new 20 Gun Ship, and gave the Command to Capt. *Lusington*.

This Morning the Post-Boy, carrying out the *Bristol Mail*, was stopp'd at *Knightsbridge*, by a single Foot-Pad, who took out the *Bristol* and *Bath* Bags, and carry'd them off.

FRIDAY, 4.

The Post-Boy bringing the *Western Mail* to Town, was stopp'd on *Bagshot-Heath* by two Highwaymen, who carried off the Mail

A PLAN of PORTO BELLO.



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*Explanation of the PLAN of PORTO BELLO. — A The Town of PORTO BELLO. — a The Governor's House shot thro' by the Admiral's Ship the Burford's lower Tier of Guns.—B Castle de Gloria.—b Plantation in the Castle de Gloria.—C The Worcester Man of War.—D The Norwich.—d Top-Gallant-Mast of the Norwich shot off by one of the Cannons from the Iron Castle.—E The Burford, the Admiral's Ship.—F Commodore Brown's Ship the Hampton-Court.—G The Strafford.—H The Princeps Louis.—I Two Tenders.—K Two Boats going to land the Soldiers under the Walls of the Fort.—L Iron Castle.—m Drake's Island.—N Island Bona Aventura.—O Guanches River.—P P Two Spanish Guarda Costa's.—Q Spanish Snow that brought over Capt. Rentone.—RRR Three trading Spanish Sloops.—S A Sloop sunk by a Shot from the Admiral's Ship.—T St. Jeronimo Castle.—U Old Porto Bello.—www Dry Land.—X River Coscahall.—yyy Watering Places.—Z Careening Place.

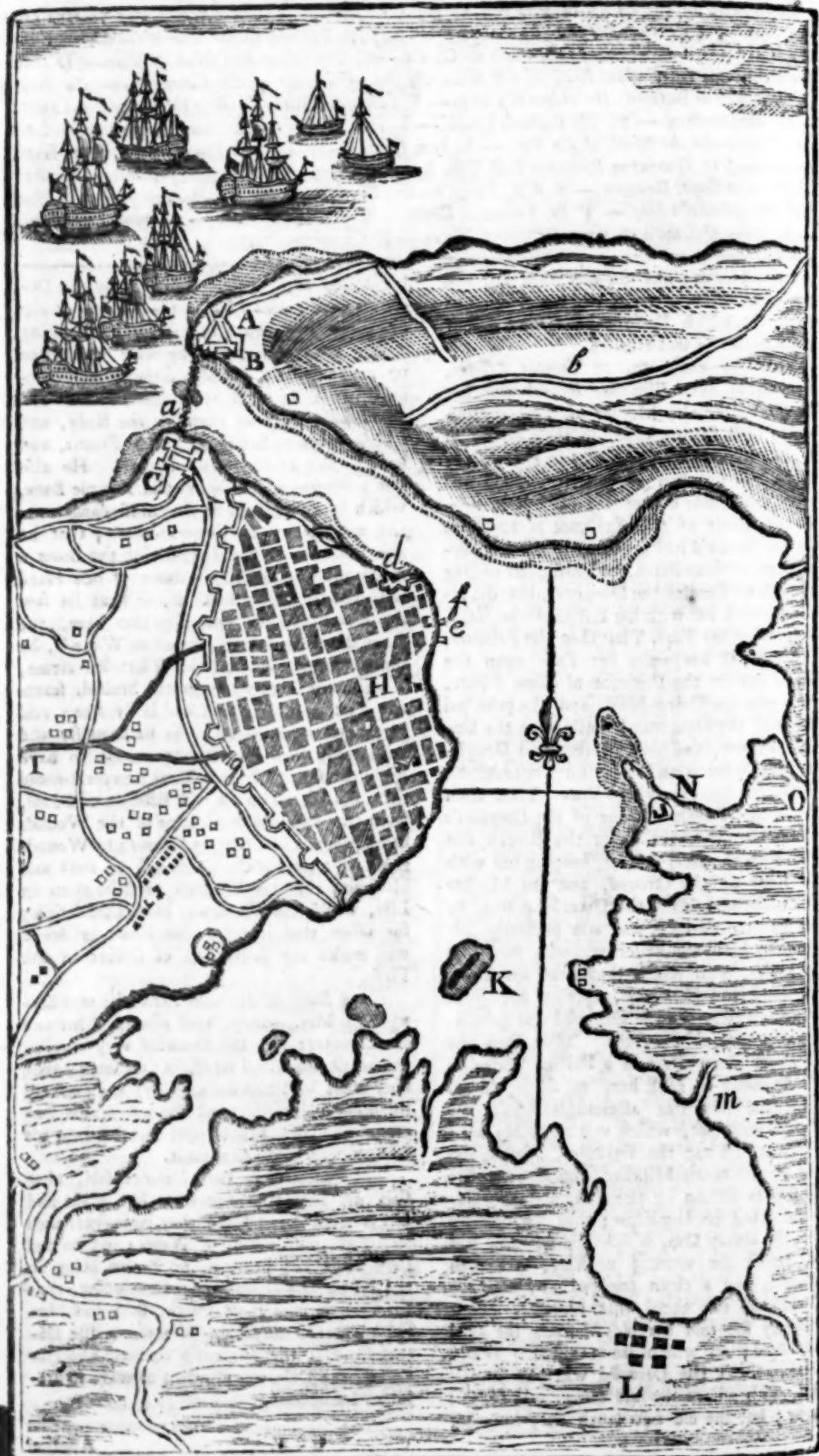
and two Horses; one the Boy rode on, and the other he drove; they tied him Neck and Heels, in which Posture he remain'd four Hours before he was released.

This Day came on, at Taunton Assizes, the Trial of Mrs. Elizabeth Branch and her Daughter, for the Murder of Jane Butterworth, their Servant Girl, in their House at Hemington, near Philip Norton in the County of Somerset; when they were both found guilty and receiv'd Sentence of Death.—In the Course of the Evidence it appear'd, that the Deceased had been sent to a neighbouring Place for some Barm, (or Yeast,) but forging a Lye, so exasperated the Daughter, that she violently struck her with her Fist about the Head, and pinch'd her Ears. That then the Prisoners jointly flung her upon her Face upon the Floor, and in the Presence of Anne Somers, (who was the Dairy-Maid, and the principal Evidence) the Daughter kneel'd upon the Deceased's Neck, and both Mother and Daughter whipp'd her with Twigs for a considerable Time, till she ran with Blood. That then the Daughter took off one of the Deceased's Shoes, and beat her about the Breech and Hips with the Heel thereof, keeping her with her Knee on the Ground, and the Mother still whipping. That the Deceased getting up ran into the Parlour, and was presently followed by both the Prisoners, who now had got Sticks, with which they beat her about the Head and Shoulders, driving her from Place to Place, till the Deceased was quite amazed and unable to stand. That then the Daughter threw Part of a Pail of Water on the Deceased to cool her, as she call'd it. That the Daughter afterwards rubb'd her Breech with Salt, which was all bloody with whipping. That the Evidence, Somers, on her Return from Milking, found both her Mistresses sitting by the Fire, and the Deceased lying on the Floor; that she observ'd that the bloody Cap, which the Deceased had on before she went a milking, had been chang'd, and a clean one put on, and the Blood had ran thro' that likewise. That presently she told her old Mistress the Girl was dead; on which she call'd her Welch Bitch. That the Deceased was put into a Bed, with whom the said Somers was order'd to lie; but she did not touch her, knowing

her to be dead. That shortly after the Deceased was buried, under the Notion of her dying suddenly; but there being a Muttering among the Neighbours, the Body was taken up and examin'd by Mr. Salmon; who depos'd, that he went with the Coroner and some of the Jury to examine the Body, and found a violent Bruise in the Os Frantis, and both Tables of the Skull broken. He also saw a Wound a little above the Temple Bone, which he thought to be the most dangerous; and another in the Coronal Suture; that he also observ'd in the Regions of the Loins a dangerous Wound; the Fingers of one Hand with the true Skin beat off, so that he saw the Flexor Muscles and Tendons bare, the Anguish whereof, with the other Wounds, he thought might be mortal: That her Arms, Thighs and Legs were greatly bruised, scarce any Part but the Breast and Belly free; and in general appear'd to be so barbarously and inhumanly used, that it was enough to have kill'd the stoutest Man: That he apprehended there must have been a vast Effusion of Blood, from the Appearance of some of the Wounds being pale and of a Cherry Colour; for Wounds given in a plethorick State will be livid and blackish; that the Wounds must be given in Life, whilst the Blood was in its Circulation; for when that is ended, no Blood or Bruise will make any Alteration of Colour in the Flesh.

Henry Butler also depos'd, that he was Servant to Mrs. Branch, and often saw her and her Daughter beat the Deceased very cruelly, and break her Head on slight Occasions; that they often beat him barbarously, and once till he be— himself, and then took his Excrements in their Hands, and thrust it into his Mouth, and made him eat it.

The Prisoners in their Defence said, that they did beat the Deceased; but if she had any Wounds in her Head, they were occasioned by a Fall with a Pail of Water; but owned they could not prove it, no Person being in the House but themselves: Concluding, that the Persons who took up the Body had Malice enough to make the Wounds in the Deceased.—But the Surgeon's accurate Description of the Case was sufficient to wave so artful an Insinuation.



Explanation of the PLAN of the H A V A N A H. — A The Morro Castle of 52 Guns. — a Boom and Chain cross the Harbour. — B Battery called the 12 Apostles. — b Road from the Eastern Castle 5 Miles from the Town; by landing a few Miles to the East, and getting Possession of this Hill, which commands the Town and Castles, the Place may be taken with no great Difficulty. — C Fort St. Maria, or de la Punta, of 30 Guns. — d Fort where the Governor resides, with 22 Guns. — e The Mole. — f The Point Gate and Small Fort. — g The Land Gate. — H Market-Place. — I River Lagida, falls into the Sea near 5 Miles Distance towards the Western Castle. — K Island de Mugeris. — L Village of Guanabacoa. — M La Doctora. — N Nostra Signiora de la Regla. — O Venta, or Inn de Marimelena. — Note, This City is reckoned the first for Strength in the Spanish West-Indies, the Port inaccessible to an Enemy, the Harbour very safe, and able to contain 1000 Sail. The Air very healthy for the Climate, and Provisions plentiful. Here the Galleons from Cartagena and Porto Bello, and the Flota from La Vera Cruz, meet in their Return to Spain, to take in Provisions, and proceed together for better Security.

Another material Circumstance of Guilt appeared from the Prisoners refusing to admit any one to see the Deceased, who was buried in the most private Manner.

When Sentence of Death was passed, old Mrs. Branch appeared very little concerned; but the Daughter continued at the Bar suing for Mercy.

Mrs. Branch was possess'd of 200*l.* a Year. There were eight Counsel to plead their Cause, and great Plenty of Money was expended to save their Lives.

When they were brought to take their Trial, the People all around the Country rose, crying vehemently against Mrs. Branch; and after Condemnation, they were conveyed back to Ipswich under a strong Guard in the Dead of the Night.

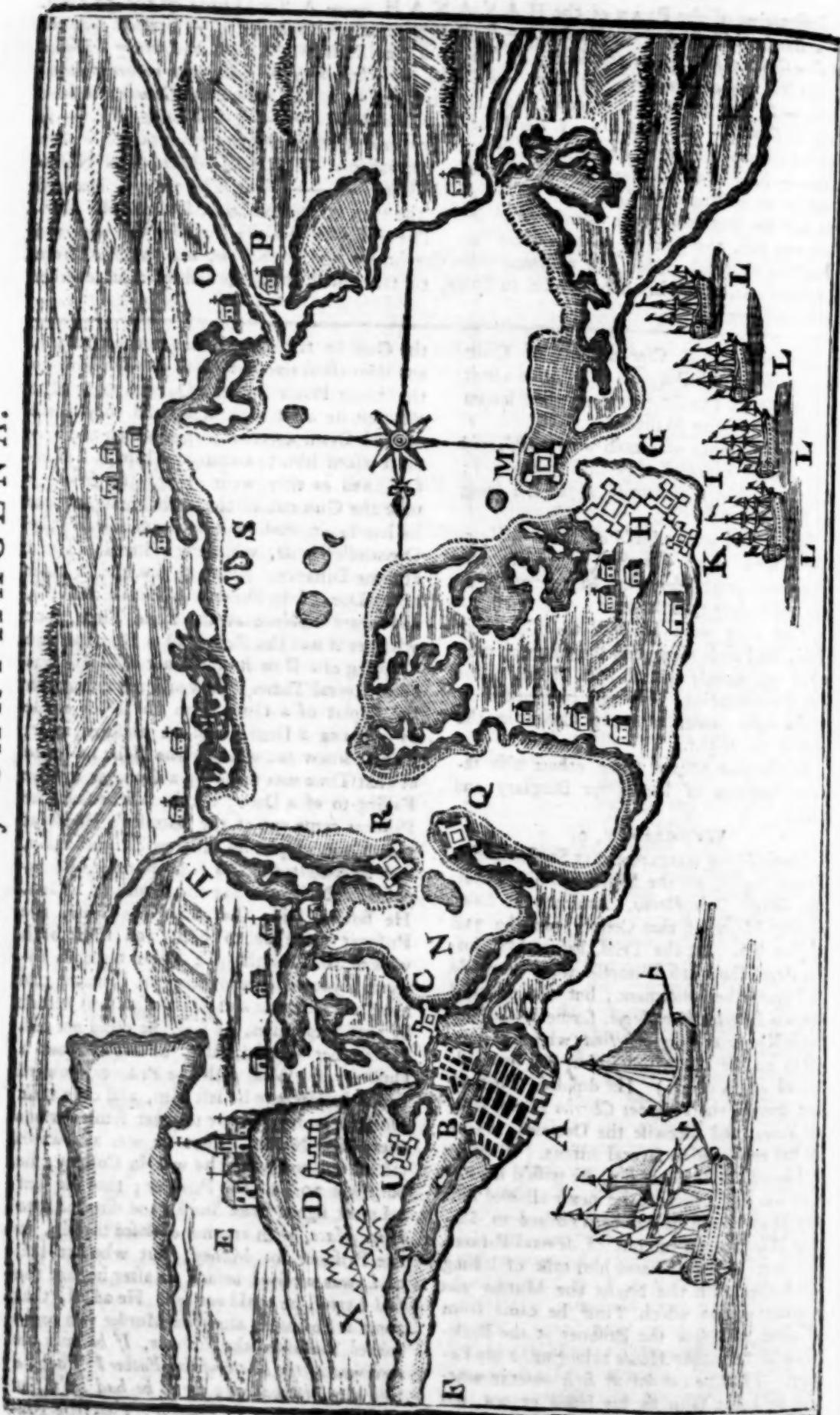
At the said Assizes three others also received Sentence of Death for Burglary and Felony.

WEDNESDAY, 9.

Charles Drew was executed at St. Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, for the Murder of his Father, Mr. Charles John Drew, Attorney at Law, of Long-Melford in that County, on the 31st of Jan. last. At the Trial, before Mr. Justice Page, about 16 Witnesses were examin'd to support the Indictment; but the principal one was Edward Humphreys, formerly an Ale-house Keeper at Long-Melford (who had been taken up for the Murder, but was now admitted an Evidence.) He depos'd, That he had known the Prisoner Charles Drew several Years, and likewise the Deceased, whom he had employed in several Affairs. That he had heard the Prisoner say, he wish'd his Father was dead, because he never allowed him any Money, and he had been obliged to borrow Money upon Interest of several Persons, but that he never heard him talk of killing his Father, till the Night the Murder was committed; at which Time he came from Wibam, and saw the Prisoner at the Back-Gate of the upper House belonging to his Father. That he did not at first observe whether he had a Gun in his Hand or not, but when he came up to him, he took Notice he had a Gun with him. That he (Drew) hid

the Gun in the little House in the Orchard, and then asked the Witness to go with him to the lower House (about a Quarter of a Mile off) that he went with him, and they there drank a Dram together; after which the Prisoner asked him to accompany him to Lyfton-ball, and as they went along, the Prisoner took the Gun out of the little House, where he had hid it, and went forwards towards the Deceased's House, while the Witness follow'd at some Distance. That he saw the Prisoner at the Door of the Deceased, about 11 o'Clock, and heard a Noise at the same Time, but whether it was the Report of a Gun, or the Clapping of a Door he could not tell. He was asked several Times if he could not distinguish the Report of a Gun, from the Noise made by clapping a Door; and he persist'd in it, that he knew not whether the Noise he heard at that Time was made by a Gun, or by the Falling-to of a Door; but he said he saw the Prisoner come out of the Deceased's House at that Time. Upon his being call'd upon again, and interrogated to the same Purpose, he depos'd the Noise was like the Report of a Gun. He farther said, that after the Noise, the Prisoner came up to him, and they both walked the Length of 2 Fields together towards Lyfton-ball, and then the Prisoner told him, the Job was done, but what was meant by that Expression, he said, he could not tell. He farther depos'd, that he went about a Quarter of a Mile with the Prisoner, toward Lyfton-ball, where he left him, and then took Horse to go to Dunmore to meet some Persons there that Night. That he was afterwards taken up, and while he was in Custody, he borrow'd 20*l.* of the Prisoner; that he sent a Letter signed John Smith, and directed it to Wm. Mace, with another enclosed therein, to the Prisoner for Money, but whether this 20*l.* was received before, or after he sent the said Letter, he could not tell. He added, that about a Fortnight after the Murder was committed, he ask'd the Prisoner, If he was not concerned at the Death of his Father? That he told him, he was not; for if he had liv'd, he would have ruin'd the Family. That the Prisoner told him, he would do something for him.

A PLAN of CARTHAGENA.



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Explanation of the PLAN of CARTHAGENA. — A The City of CARTHAGENA, in America, situated 16 Degrees 26 Minutes Lat. North, and 75 Degrees 21 Minutes Long. West of London, was begun to be built Anno 1532, and being finish'd in about 8 Years, soon increas'd in Wealth, Inhabitants, and stately Edifices; and its Port was found to be extremely convenient for the Spanish Fleets: In the Year 1585, Sir Francis Drake, with a small Force, plunder'd the City, and then set Fire to it, which consumed but one Part of it, the rest being ransom'd by the Inhabitants for 120,000 Ducats; before it was perfectly repaired, a dis-guised Spaniard, with five Privateers, burnt the Town, and seized a great Treasure: It quickly recovered itself, both in Riches and Magnificence; but in the Year 1697, Monsieur de Pointie, with a Squadron of French Ships, took the City after a formal Siege, carrying off a very considerable Mass of Treasure. — B Xemani, or the Suburbs. — C Fort Pastillillio. — D S. Philip de Barrajas. — E Notre Dame de la Poupe commands all the Avenues to Carthagena on the Land Side: By this the Treasure is brought down to Carthagena, and whilst the Spaniards apprehend any Danger, they send away their Silver, and many of them retire this Way up the Continent. — F This Part of the Sea was formerly a Plain, on which the Inhabitants of Carthagena used to walk, but has been for some Time overflowed by the Sea: Du Pointie in his Expedition attempted a Descent there, that his Buccaneers might secure Notre Dame de la Poupe, but the暴uous rolling of the Sea upon all this Coast, is an invincible Rampart to Carthagena, so that it is to be approached only by the Harbour. — G Boca Checa, or, Little Mouth, going into the Haven. — H Fort Boca Checa; in a Design upon Carthagena, this Fort must be first taken and secured. — I Fort St. Philip. — K Fort St. Jago; these two Forts were erected since the French Descent. — L L L French Ships anchoring before Boca Checa. — M Fort St. Joseph. — N The anchoring Place, at about 10 Fathom depth, from whence the French bombarded the City. — O P Passa Cavillas, or the Horse Passage. — Q Castillio Grande, or Fort St. Cruz; this Fort must be taken before an Enemy can bring up his Ships to cannonade the Town. — R Fort Manzanilla. — S Ilia de Bruga. — T The Place where the French landed their Troops after they got into the Harbour. — V Fort St. Lazaro. — X The French Camp.

him, on Account of the Acquaintance they formerly had had together, and that he heard nothing of old Mr. Drew's Death, till after he had been in London. He acknowledged likewise, that the Prisoner had promised him 1000l. if he could keep a Secret, but what that Secret was, he knew not.

Other Witnesses swore, that Humphreys was at Melford that Night, and that when he came thither again about a Fortnight after, the Prisoner went to his House at Midnight; that when Humphreys was apprehended, the Prisoner shewed a very great Uneasiness, threatened the Constable, and when a Gentleman press'd him very strongly to prosecute Humphreys, and told him plainly the Suspicion he would lie under, if he did not do it, he was so far from taking his Advice, that he would have bribed that same Gentleman to endeavour at getting Humphreys discharged: That soon after this he went to London, where he took the Name of Thomas Roberts, left off his Mourning, and wore lac'd Cloaths, and took great Pains to conceal himself, but was taken by the indefatigable Endeavours of Timothy Drew, of the Inner-Temple, Esq; to whose Hands a Letter from Humphreys to the Prisoner came by Mistake, occasioned by his being of the same Name: That he gave Orders for conveying away his Estate, and hired one William Mace to go from London to Bury Goal (where Humphreys was confined) to bear what he would say: That while the Prisoner Drew was in Newgate, he endeavoured to corrupt one of the Turnkeys to let him escape, and go with him to France, by giving

him a Bond for 1000l. a Bill of Sale for several Things of Value, (Part of which he deliver'd) and a Note in which he promised him half his Estate, in case he should come home by his Majesty's Indemnity, or otherwise; all which Papers, and three or four Rings that the Prisoner gave him, were produced in Court.

The Prisoner called only two Witnesses to his Defence; one as to the Time of Night when he went from home, the other as to the Time when he got to Lyston-ball: But they differed so little from Humphreys, that they seemed rather to confirm his Evidence than to contradict it. Upon the Whole, the Evidence was so strong against him, that the Jury in a few Minutes, and without going out, found him guilty of the Indictment. The Council for the King were Mr. Serjeant Prime, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Williams: For the Prisoner, Serjeant Urbin (the Deputy-Recorder of this City) and Mr. Pilksworth.

This unhappy Parricide was about 25 Years old, a handsome Man, and his Person very much admired. But by reason of Family Discords, little Care had been taken of his Education; so that having never had any Taste for rational Entertainments, or polite Amusements (unless Coursing and Poaching may be reckon'd such) he was naturally led to herd with mean People. By this Means he fell into bad Company, such as Smugglers, Poachers, &c. and growing fond of Women, whose Characters were not extraordinary, Want of Means to supply his Extravagancies, occasion'd it frequently

quently to be buzz'd in his Ears by his Companions, that 'twas Pity his Father should possess so plentiful an Estate, and he (the Son) be in continual Want of Money. These Inflinations first put him on meditating the horrid Deed, which he soon after resolved to perpetrate.

This Evening Vice-Admiral *Balchen* sailed from *Plymouth Sound*, with the following Ships of War under his Command, *viz.* the *Ruffel*, Capt. *Charles Dennison*, of 80 Guns (the Flag Ship); *Norfolk*, Capt. *Thomas Graves*, of 80 Guns; *Grafton*, Capt. *Thomas Davers*, of 70 Guns; and the *Deptford*, Capt. *John Yeo*, of 60 Guns. The Admiral steer'd directly for *Cape Finisterre*, where he was to be join'd by five of his Majesty's Ships of War that had been cruising off that Station, *viz.* three of 70 Guns each, one of 60, and another of 50.

MONDAY, 14.

Printed Copies of the standing Order of the House of Commons, made Jan. 31, 1718, *viz.* 'That all Protections and written Certificates of the Members of that House be declared void in Law, &c.' were, pursuant to a Resolution of the House, of March 20 last, affixed at all the publick Places throughout the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, &c.

His Majesty in Council order'd, that the Embargo should be taken off from all Merchant Ships and Vessels whatsoever, in the Ports of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, Outward-bound.

The Condition mention'd in granting Protections to the Merchant Ships, since the taking off the Embargo, is, that they shall be obliged to carry one Third of their Crew Land-men.

TUESDAY, 15.

The Anniversary of the Birth of his Royal Highness the Duke was celebrated, when he enter'd into the 20th Year of his Age.

FRIDAY, 18.

The *Experiment*, a 20 Gun Ship, lately launched, was put in Commission, and the Command thereof given to Capt. *Rentone*.

SATURDAY, 19.

The 7 following Malefactors were condemn'd at the *Old Bailey*, *viz.* *John Singleton*, for picking the Pocket of *Henry Lambton*, Esq; of a Gold Watch and Seal.—*Margaret Newell*, for picking the Pocket of the Chevalier *Charles Rasca* of a Gold Watch.—*John Hide*, for robbing *William Austin* on the Highway.—*John Moor*, for robbing *Mr. Freeman* in his Coach on *Hounslow-Heath*.—*John Hetherington*, for stealing upwards of 30*l.* in the Dwelling-house of *Mr. Dudley*.—*Tho. Clements*, a Butcher of *Clare-Market*, for the Murder of *William Warren*, another Butcher.—*Joseph Parker*, for returning from Transportation.—At this Session was tried *Mr. Edward Barnet*, an Attorney of *Hampshire*, for the Forgery of a Bond for 83*l.* who, after a Trial of nine Hours, was acquitted.

TUESDAY, 22.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, arrived at his House in *Piccadilly*, from that Kingdom.

WEDNESDAY, 23.

Richard Hoare, Esq; an eminent Banker in *Fleet-street*, was unanimously chosen Alderman of the Ward of *Farringdon Without*, (in the Room of *Sir Francis Child*, Knt. deceased,) without his spending one Shilling, or asking one Man for his Vote (he being now at *Bath*.) A very rare and uncommon Example! tho' fit to be imitated at all Elections whatsoever.

This Evening the Upper Church at *Guildford* in *Surrey* fell down. There was Preaching in it on *Sunday* last, and Workmen were employ'd in taking down the Bells and Steeple, who had quitted the Spot about a Quarter of an Hour before the Accident happen'd, so that not one Person received any Hurt, tho' great Numbers were Spectators, it being their Fair Day. Three Bells had been taken down, and the other 3 fell with the Steeple, which broke the Body of the Church to Pieces.

FRIDAY, 25.

The Lords of the Admiralty appointed *Capt. Savage* Commander of the *Wincobles*, a 40 Gun Ship; *Capt. Harcourt* Masters Captain of the *Fox*, a 20 Gun Ship; and *Capt. Mostyn* receiv'd his Commission, as Captain of one of the new 20 Gun Ships.

At the Assizes at *Stafford* 3 Men received Sentence of Death, one for the Highway, one for Coining, and one for Horse-stealing.—At *Shrewsbury*, one for Burglary, and one for stealing a Mare.—At *Hereford*, two for House-breaking.—At *Monmouth*, one for stealing out of a Dwelling-house 3*l.* 10*s.*—At *Bristol*, one for Shop-lifting, one for House-breaking, and a Woman for entering a Dwelling-house, and stealing thence divers Sorts of Goods.—At *East-Grinstead* 6, *viz.* 2 Men for breaking and entering the Dwelling-house of *Philip Clark*, with Intent to murder him; 3 for Burglary, and a Woman for robbing on the Highway.—At *Gloucester* 5, *viz.* 2 for the Highway, one for stealing to the Value of 10*l.* one for House-breaking, and one for stealing a Mare.—At *Pade* in *Montgomeryshire*, a Man for Horse-stealing, a Woman for stealing a large Quantity of Money, and another Woman for the Murder of her Bastard Child.—At *Kingston*, the 4 following, *viz.* *Tho. Miller* for the Murder of *Edmund Drewitt*, by shooting him on the Highway; *John Jenkins*, alias *Forrest*, for several Burglaries; *Patrick Murphy* for stealing out of the Ware-house of *Mr. Alexander Hay*, a Deal Box full of fine Thread of a considerable Value; and *Tho. Middleton* for robbing *Mr. Smith* and *Mr. Heathfield* on the Highway.

SATURDAY, 26.

An Express arriv'd at the *Lord Harrington's* Office,

Office, with an Account that Part of Admiral *Haddock's* Squadron had taken two Spanish Ships, having on board a great Number of Soldiers designed for *Majorca*.

The same Evening an Account came to the Admiralty Office of the taking of a Spanish Man of War of 70 Guns, which could have mounted 90 (near the Bay of *Cadiz*) commanded by Don *Paris Augustino de Gerra*. She had on board 500 Sailors and 200 Marines. The first Attack begun by the *Lenox*, Captain *Mayne*, who had one of her Masts shot away. Then the *Kent*, Captain *Durell*, engag'd her, and fought her 6 Hours, and 200 of the Spaniards were kill'd. The Capt. had 3 of his Fingers shot off, and lost 40 Men. When the *Orford*, Lord *Augustus Fitzroy*, came up to assist the *Kent*, the Spanish Man of War immediately struck.

MONDAY, 28.

An Anonymous Letter having been directed to Sir *John Gonson* in *Gray's-Inn*, and received by him, threatening to destroy him, and Justice *De Veil*, by Sword and Pistol before the End of last Week, for having done their Country Justice, and joined in committing some Persons to *Newgate*, on account of using false Dice at a late Masquerade: His Majesty has been pleased to promise his most gracious Pardon, and a Reward of 100*l.* to any one of the Persons concern'd in writing or sending the said Letter, who shall discover his Accomplice or Accomplices, so as he or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof.

They write from *Jamaica*, that his Majesty's Ship the *Skeerness*, of 20 Guns, lying off a Spanish Port as a Merchant-Ship, with French Colours, and a Spanish Man of War of 80 Guns lying there at the same Time unrigg'd, the Admiral on board sent the second Captain with 21 Hands in a Barge, to bring the supposed trading Vessel in; but coming near, they perceived their Mistake, and endeavouring to get off, were smartly fired upon by the *Skeerness*, and obliged to surrender, and were all carried into *Jamaica*.

By Letters from *Charles-Town* in *South-Carolina*, dated Feb. 12. there is Advice from *Savannah* in *Georgia*, that General *Oglethorpe* has taken from the Spaniards two Forts, one called *Picola*, the other *St. Francis de la Parra*; the former he has burnt to Ashes, and imprisoned 12 of the Spaniards and one Indian, whom he took in the Garrison of the latter.

By Advice from *Jamaica*, we have the following List of Men of War at that Place, under the Command of Admiral *Vernon*, viz.

Ships Names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Borford,	Adm. Vernon,	70
Hampton-Court,	Com. Brown,	70
Louis,	Waterhouse,	60
Strafford,	Trevor,	60
Worcester,	Main,	60
Windsor,	Berkeley,	50
Norwich,	Herbert,	50

Ships Names.	Commanders.	Guns.
Greenwich,	Windham,	50
Falmouth,	Douglas,	50
Torrington,	Knight,	40
Anglesea,	Reddish,	40
Diamond,	Knowles,	40
Sheerness,	Stapleton,	20
Blandford,	Burrish,	20
Shoreham,	Boscawen,	20
Two Spanish Prizes of 20 Guns each, two Fire-ships, and two Bomb-Vessels; in all 750 Guns, and 4990 Men.		

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

CAPT. *Pottinger*, Purveyor of Timber for his Majesty's Yards, to Mrs. *Anne Bradley*.—*Edw. Fleming*, of the Inner-Temple, Esq; to Miss *Cooper*.—*Geo. Pembroke*, Esq; to Miss *Adria Osborn*.—*Tbo. Foley*, Jun. Esq; to Miss *Granville*, Daughter of the late Lord *Landowne*.—Mr. *Richard Astell*, Son of *Rich. Astell*, Esq; an eminent Russia Merchant, to Miss *Sally Bagnall* of *Hatton-Garden*.—Rev. Mr. *Price*, Rector of *Farnborough* in *Berks*, to Miss *Richardson* of *Wantage* in the same County.—*Everard Sayer*, Esq; of *Doctors-Commons*, to Mrs. *Eliza Marriot*, Relict of Mr. *Marriot* of the Exchequer-Office.—Counsellor *Greenville*, to Miss *Anne Smith*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.—The Lady of Sir *Tbo. Mothyn*, Bart. deliver'd of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Hon. Mr. *Arundel*, Son and Heir of Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, of a Son.—Duchess of *Marlborough*, of a Son.—The Lady of *John Norris*, Esq; eldest Son of Admiral *Norris*, of a Son and Heir.—The Lady of the Hon. *Tbo. King*, Esq; Brother to Lord *King*, of a Son.—The Lady of Sir *Rob. Long*, Bart. of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Rt. Rev. Dr. *Butts*, Lord Bishop of *Ely*, of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Marquiss of *Boumont*, Son to the Duke of *Roxburgh*, of a Son, stiled Lord *Kerr*.—The Lady of Sir *Brian Broughton*, Bart. of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

REV. Dr. *Felton*, Principal of *Edmund-Hall*, *Oxford*, and Rector of *Berwick* in *Elmet* in *Yorkshire*. He was Author of the *Dissertation on the Clafficks*.—Sir *William Culpeper*, Bart. He lost a good Estate by Gambling. The Title is now extinct.—Sir *Cba. Herbert*, Bart. descended from *Christopher Herbert*, Lord Mayor of *Yorke*, Anno 1573, whose Grandson, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, Bart. was so created by King *Charles II.* Anno 1666. The Title is now extinct.—Sir *John Jacob*, Bart. who is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his Nephew, now Sir *Hildebrand Jacob*, Bart.—*John Ogle*, Esq; Judge of the Court of Admiralty for the Town and County of *Newcastle upon Tyne*.—Lady *Mary Forester*, Daughter of *James* late Earl of *Salisbury*.—In *Scotland*, the Right Hon. the Earl of *Kincardine*; succeeded by his Son the Lord *Bruce*.—Also in *Scotland*, Mr. *James Grame*, Advocate, aged

Dd

1740 about

about 90. Solicitor General to King James VII. i. e. II. of England.—Rev. Mr. Morris, Rector of Tunstall in Kent.—John Taver, Esq; one of his Majesty's Remembrancers of the Exchequer in Scotland, and Justice of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.—Mr. Alexander Cunningham, Brother to the Earl of Glencairn: He was Lieut. to one of the Independent Companies at Jamaica, and died of a Fever at *Porto Bello*, after the Taking of that Place.—The Lady of Sir William Gordon, of Invergordon, Bart.—Mr. John Spillet, a Common-Council Man for Cheapside Ward, and Brother-in-Law to the Lord Mayor.—Henry Cooper, Esq; one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of his Majesty's Hon. Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.—Mr. Claude Fonnereau, an eminent Hamburg Merchant, reputed worth upwards of 100,000*l.* He has left 5 Sons and 4 Daughters.—Thomas Wylde, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Excise, and formerly Member for Worcester in several Parliaments.—Capt. John Carmichael, aged 96, formerly Capt. of an Independent Company, and Governor of Pennsylvania.—Reginald Morgan Bray, of Llanternam in Monmouthshire, Esq;—Right Hon. the Countess of Warrington, Wife to the Right Hon. the Earl of Warrington, and Mother of the present Countess of Stamford.—Mr. Davis, who formerly kept Harry's Coffee-House in Fleet-street, aged 110.—Dr. Robert Heward, Lord Bishop of Elphin in Ireland.—Charles Downing, Esq; Comptroller of the Customs in the Port of London.—James Church, Esq; a Common-Council Man of Bread-street Ward.—Lady Catherine Jones, Daughter of the late Earl of Ranelagh.—Sir Francis Child, Knight, Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, Knight of the Shire for Middlesex, and President of Christ's Hospital. He was Lord Mayor in the Year 1732.—Rev. Mr. Sam. Carter, Vicar of St. Martin's in Leicester, and Prebendary of Lichfield.—Roger Acerby, of the Inner Temple, Esq;—Rev. Christopher Clarkson, D. D.—Rev. Dr. Francis Hare, Lord Bishop of Chester, and Dean of St. Paul's.—Countess of Dysart, Mother of the present Earl.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

ANDREW Trebeck, B. D. Rector of St. George's Hanover-Square, had the Degree of Doctor in Divinity conferr'd on him by the University of Oxf. rd.—Christopher Battiman, M. A. presented to the Rectory of Ickleton in Cambridgeshire.—John Marriet, M. A. to the Rectory of Gawdley in Lincolnshire.—John Smith, B. A. to the Rectory of Sorby, alias Saltby in the said County.—Mr. William Newell, Curate of St. Katherine Creechurch, chosen Lecturer of the said Church.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

R. Reeve elected one of the Physicians of St. Thomas's Hospital, in the Room of Dr. Willmott, who resign'd.—Tho. Beale, Esq; made Chancellor to the Prince of Wales, in the Room of Judge Denton, deceas'd.—Rob.

Robinson, Esq; Recorder of Scarborough, made Lord Chief Justice of Gibraltar.—Col. Crosby made Lieut. Gov. of Annapolis Royal, or Nova-Scotia.—Earl of Hopton chosen Governor to the Bank of Scotland.—John Scott, Esq; Major Gen. of his Majesty's Forces, made Governor of Chelsea Hospital.—Tho. Coppleston, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling, in the Room of Henry Parkin, Esq; deceased.—A Grant pass'd the Great Seal to the Hon. John Talbot, Esq; second Justice of Chester, Montgomery, &c. of the Sum of 500*l. per Ann.* for his Salary, in Lieu of 80*l. per Ann.* formerly payable to the Person in that Office.—George Speke, Esq; made Comptrol'r of the Duties of Excise and new Imposts.—Mr. Baron Parker, made one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, in the Room of Mr. Justice Denton, deceas'd. And Mr. Baron Reynolds, of the Exchequer in Ireland, succeeds Mr. Baron Parker.—Peter Lord King made Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest, in the Room of his Brother, John Lord King, deceas'd.—Ambrose Stanyford, Esq; made Agent and Consul General at Algier.—Hon. Wm. Herbert, Esq; made a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.—His Grace the Duke of Argyll made Captain General of his Majesty's Forces.—Lord Hervey made Lord Privy Seal.—Lord Sidney Beauclerk, Vice-Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, in the Room of Lord Hervey.—Earl of Godolphin made Constable of the Tower of London.—His Royal Highness the Duke made Col. of the Coldstream, or 2d Reg. of Foot Guards, in the Room of the late Earl of Scarborough.—Trelawney, Esq; chose Member of Parl. for Lefkard, in the Room of George Dengis, Esq; deceased.—Col. Parrot, for Christ-church, in the Room of Joseph Hixman, Esq; deceased.—Hon. John Talbot, Esq; re-elected for Brecon.

The Bankrupts in our next.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from March 25. to Apr. 21.

Christned	5 Males	698	1324
	2 Females	626	
Buried	5 Males	1493	3114
	2 Females	1621	
Died under 2 Years old			1155
Between 2 and 5			313
5	10		115
10	20		99
20	30		189
30	40		264
40	50		260
50	60		262
60	70		201
70	80		164
80	90		81
90 and upwards			11

ON the 12th of last Month, the (late) Duke of Ormond arrived at Madrid, and on the 15th went to the Pardo, where he was graciously received by their Catholick Majesties, and had the Honour to kiss their Hands; after which he dined with the Marquis de Villarias, the Secretary of State; and has since had particular Conferences with the Duke de Montemar, General in Chief of the Spanish Land Forces; but since the Spaniards have no sufficient Number of Transport Vessels for conveying a Body of Land Forces to this Island, nor any sufficient Squadron for convoying their Transports, these Conferences can give no Alarm to any Man in this Kingdom.

The King of Spain, we are told, has sent Orders to prosecute the Commandants and other Officers that were in the several Forts at Porto Bello, for their cowardly Surrender of those Forts to Admiral Vernon; but by our Accounts of that Affair, his Catholick Majesty ought rather to send Orders to prosecute the Men; for Officers cannot defend their Posts when their Soldiers run away from them. It is an Advantage enjoyed by Officers in the British Service, more than by those in any other, that they have Men to command, who will not forsake them in Time of Danger, and who have Resolution enough, when put in Disorder by Accident, to rally again, and return with fresh Vigour to the Charge.

We have an Account from Madrid of the 26th of March, O. S. that the Court had received an Express from Cadiz with Advice, that the Squadron which was in that Bay, sailed the 18th at Night, as it was said, for the West-Indies; and, at the same Time, it was confidently reported there, that the Squadron in the Port of Ferrol had sailed, and steered the same Course. The former consists of 8 Men of War from 60 to 70 Guns, two Frigates of 40 and 50 Guns, and two Packet Boats of 16 Guns each; and the latter consists of 7 Line of Battle Ships and two Frigates. 'Tis said they had 2 or 3000 Land Forces on board, but whither bound, or what their Design may be, cannot as yet be unfolded. It is to be hoped our Admiral in those Parts was furnished with Instructions to follow them directly with a sufficient Number of Ships; in which Case we may probably have a very good Account of them; for otherwise, we may happen to have but a very bad Account of some of our Sugar Islands.

On the 11th of last Month, N. S. a Spanish Register Ship, in Company with a Man of War, from the Havanah, arrived at Lagos in Portugal, and brought home, 'tis said, in Treasure and Merchandise, to the Value of three Millions of Pieces of Eight. And we hear, by the Way of Bayonne in France, that on the 4th Instant the two Men of War

from Buenos Ayres, called the *Hermione* and the *St. Etienne*, the one of 60 Guns, the other of 50, arrived at St. Andero, having on board 346,000 Pieces of Eight registered, besides great Quantities of *Vigonia* Wool, Leather, &c.

By Letters from *Genua* we have an Account, that the *Vigilance*, Capt. Will. Hill, was taken by two Spanish Privateers above Leghorn; and that as they were carrying the said Vessel into *Civita Vecchia*, a Sea-Port belonging to the Pope, they met with another English Ship loaded with Pilchards, within the Reach of the Guns of that Port, and though they were fired at from the Port several Times, they persisted in taking the Ship, which they did after a long Engagement, in which the Captain and several of his Men were killed, and of six that were left alive, when she was obliged to strike, we are told, that the Spaniards most barbarously murdered five, after they had surrendered. They carried both Ships into that Port, but the Governor ordered some Musketeers on board the Privateers, and having sold the Cargo of the last-mentioned Ship, kept the Produce in his Hands, till she should either be condemned as a Prize, or cleared, as being taken under the Guns of a neutral Port. This Affair gives the Holy See some Disturbance, being willing to preserve a Neutrality in the present War, and as it does not, it seems, pretend to Infallibility in Disputes of a maritime Nature, the Congregation appointed to examine and decide this Matter, have wrote to Leghorn for Advice. Probably, they are willing to learn what Opinion the Germans, who by good Luck are still in their Neighbourhood, may have of it.

The Cardinals are still busy in the Conclave, about the Election of a new Pope; and we are told, that Cardinal Alberoni has once had 22 Votes in his Favour. If he should get the Triple Crown upon his intriguing Head, he may probably make the Holy See intermeddle a little more in the Affairs of Europe, than it has done for some Years past.

We are told by some of our Dutch Politicians, that the Court of France insists upon his Swedish Majesty's sending 20,000 Men into Pomerania, to be there in Readiness for making a Diversion in those Parts, in Case the King of Prussia, upon the Death of the Elector Palatine, should oppose the Measures which his most Christian Majesty has taken, in Concert with the Emperor, to secure the Succession of the Dutchies of Bergues and Juliers to the Prince of Sutzbach. We hope his most Christian Majesty has not another View in this: We hope he has no Design to employ these Forces against the Dominions of Hanover, in Case he should think fit to declare against us in our present War with Spain.

26. *Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Persons.* Numb. XVI. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1s.

27. *The Mass. A Court Tale.* price 1s.

28. *Alrick and Isobel.* By *S. Duck*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

29. *The Prode metamorphos'd.* Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1s.

30. *Hobbinol; or, the Rural Games.* By *W. Somerville, Esq;* The third Edition, Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1s. 6d.

31. *The 6th Epistle of the 1st Book of Horace, imitated.* By *J. Chase*. Printed for *D. Browne*, price 6d.

32. *Antiochus. A Tragedy.* Printed for *J. Shuckburgh*, price 1s. 6d.

33. *An Imitation of the first Satire of Persius.* By *Mr. Loveling*. Printed for *J. Britt*, price 1s.

34. *A satirical Epistle to Mr. Pope*, pr. 6d.

35. *A new Ballad on the taking of Port Bello.* Printed for *R. Dadley*, price 6d.

36. *A new Translation of the Æneid of Virgil.* By *Mr. Pitt*. Printed for *R. Dadley*, In 3 vols. 4to, price 1l. 1s.

37. *Scamnum, Ecloga.* Apud *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

38. *Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt, cura cuiusdam Anonimi Anno 1684. congesta, iterum in Lucem data, una cum aliquorū Italorum Operibus, accurate A. Pope. Impensis Mess. Knapton.* In 2 vols. pr. 6s.

39. *The Works of Shakespear.* By *Mr. Tickbold*. The 2d Edition. In 8 vols. 12mo, price 1l. 4s.

40. *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer.* Printed for *J. Osborn*, price 5s. few'd.

41. *Laugh upon Laugh.* Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 1s.

42. *The Protestant Knock.* Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6d.

43. *Rafalinda.* The 2d Edition, price 1s.

44. *David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan.* The 6th Edit. price 6d. Both by *Mr. Lichman*. Sold by *C. Corbet*.

45. *Some Animadversions upon the Necessity of continuing the present Parliament.* Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

46. *An impartial Enquiry into the Properties of Places and Persons.* Printed for *H. Goreham*, price 1s.

47. *Sixteen Discourses on the Redemption of Man.* By *Count Zinzendorf*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 1s. 6d.

48. *A Sermon preach'd at Birrhal.* By *W. Hoggart, York*, Printed for *J. Hildebrand*, pr. 6d.

49. *A Sermon preach'd before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts.* By the *Bishop of Gloucester*. Printed for *J. Penberth*, price 6d.

50. *A Sermon preach'd at Chelmsford.* By *J. Pitt*. Printed for *J. Oswald*, price 6d.